THE
HINDU SAHIS
OF
AFGHANISTAN AND THE PUNJAB

A. D. 865-1026

(A PHASE OF ISLAMIC ADVANCE INTO INDIA)

BY

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PREFACE

The history of the dynasty called Hindu Shahiya by Alberuni, Sahi (शाहि) by Kalhana and Sahi (साहि) in inscriptions remained obscure and almost untouched for a long time. Thomas (1848), Bayley (1882), Cunningham (1894 posthumously) and Smith (1906) offered the numismatic side, and Cunningham (*ASR*, *AGI*) noticed archaeological material also. Elliot (1869), Stein (1900), Vaidya (1921-26) and Ray (1931) gave merely a rough outline of political history. Habib (1927) and Nazim (1931) presented some materials on the basis of Arabic and Persian literature while treating Mahmud of Ghazni's career. All these, however, failed to satisfy the curiosity of the reading public, because besides being brief they contained lacunae and mistakes too about identification of places and persons, *e. g.*, Bathind or Bitunda, Bhatiya, Rahib or Rahut, Bida, Nanda, Barujaypal (with variants) and Bhimpal. Nothing worth the name was written after 1931 about this dynasty of Hindu kings that acted as the guardians of Indian frontiers from the third quarter of the ninth century to the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D.

It was in 1959-60 that I was attracted to the task which the present work is intended to complete. This book offers an exhaustive treatment of the history of the Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab who ruled even up to the Rama-Ganga river in Western U. P. though only for a short time. It is based on a critical examination of all available material, *viz.*, Hindu and Islamic literature, inscriptions, coins and archaeological remains. According to Alberuni (973-1048) the dynasty had eight kings whom he names; this list seems to be exhaustive. Five of these are referred to by Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* (wr. 1149-50); brief inscriptions of two and coins of four kings have come down to us. Muslim sources tell us a lot about the last four kings, especially Jayapala, Anandapala and Trilochanapala.

The entire material has been carefully sifted and fitted into making a continuous, coherent and systematic history.

Efforts have been made to solve numismatic and chronological puzzles and a new date (A. D. 865) has been offered for the commencement of Sahi rule. Suggestions have been made for identification of places and persons. Many of the kings who were only slightly more than mere names have now assumed full personality as a result of this study. When Subuktigin and his son Mahmud of Ghazni found their "way into India blocked by the Sahis of Kabul" and Gandhara, they "had to fight a series of engagements before they could destroy these guardians of the north-western gates of India."[1] Originally masters of Kabul (fort, town and region), the Sahis, having soon been expelled from there (the fort) in 870-71 by the Arabs, made Udabhandapura (literally meaning 'town of waterpots') or Udabhanda (modern village Und, also written as Hund, Uhand, Waihand, Waihind, Ohind, Hind and even Hend)[2] in Mardan district (North-West Frontier Province) their next capital and resided in the fort there "for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Muhammadans"[3] of the west. A good part of this book of course deals with this struggle between the Hindu Sahis of Kabul-Gandhara and the Yamini Turks of Ghazni for supremacy over Eastern Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Province and the Punjab. Almost all the important invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni except that of Somanatha have been covered in this work, and out of 242 pages, 110 (pp. 116-225) are concerned with him in some way or other. Readers may find in this book utilisation of Hindu sources for the history of Mahmud not found elsewhere up till now. The Sanskrit *Rajatarangini* has been fully exploited. Consequently several points, some of them for the first time, have emerged relating to Sahi-Turushka relations: (i) Existence of an unnamed Saindhava *Raja* or Governor (whose descendant Prajji has been called a *rajabijin* in VIII. 1042) in the time of the last Hindu sovereign of the Punjab, and his probable

1. *DHNI*, I, p. 596.
2. It may incidentally be noted that Kabul (on the Kabul river), Udabhandapura (on the Indus river), Lohara (near the Tohi river) and Srinagar (on the Jhelum river) fall on one almost straight line drawn from west to east.
3. Firishta, Eng. tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 9.

participation in the battle of Nandana (third capital of Sahis) in A. D. 1013-14 on account of his gubernatorial post and the prevailing feudal system. (ii) The *Turushka-samara* (VII. 51) or 'War against the Turks' on the Taushi (VII. 53) between the allied forces of Sahi Trilochanapala and Tunga (the Prime Minister[1] and Commander-in-Chief[2] of Kashmir) and the Turkish Amir Mahmud in A. D. 1013-14 (VII. 47-71) : Effects on the Sahi and the Amir. (iii) Conversion of some Kashmiris to Islam as a result of the victory of the Turushkas (VII. 70) : by implication. (iv) Effect of Kashmir's participation in the Sahi-Turushka War on its internal politics (VII. 72-119) : Murder of Tunga (VII. 47, 79, 98, 103 furnish key to chronology). (v) Effect of Kashmir's participation in the Sahi-Turushka War on its external politics : The *Turushkahava* (VII. 118) or 'War against the Turks' of A. D. 1015-16 : Mahmud's first punitive attack on Kashmir; the second came in 1021-22 A. D. (vi) Trilochanapala's shifting of the Sahi capital to Hastika (Hastina or Hastinapura) and making it a base of operations (VII. 65) for resistance against the Amir. (vii) Existence of Takka *Raja* or Governor Bhijja (whose grandson Sangiya and great-grandson Prithvipala have been called *rajabijins* in VIII. 3348, 2316 respectively) in the time of the last Hindu sovereign of the Punjab, and his active participation in the *Hammirasangara* (VIII. 1190) or 'War against the Amir (Mahmud)' in November 1020 A. D. (during Mahmud's second Doab invasion). (viii) Thorough destruction of monuments indicative of royalty in Sahidesa and its capital Udabhandapura (VII. 69). (ix) Condition of the Punjab after Muhammadan invasion and conquest : constitution of *Turushkavishayas* and display of cruelty (VIII. 3346-3348). (x) Exodus of Hindu families from the Punjab as a result of Muslim invasion and rule of the region (Sahis : VII. 144, 178, 274, 956, 1470, 1550, 1571; VIII. 227, 1149. Saindhavas : VIII. 1042, 1046, 1148-1150, 1868, 2007. Takkas : VII. 520, 1001, 1064, 1207; VIII. 1091, 3346-3348). I have interpreted Hastika in a geographical sense (just

1. VI. 333.
2. VI. 354; VII. 90, 101 (कम्पनाधिपतिः), 116. Term *kampana* (कम्पन) or *kampana* (कम्पना), 'chief command of army', admirably explained by M. A. Stein (1862-1943) in V. 447n.

as Sambodhi was done long ago in the sense of Bodh-Gaya), and have identified it with Hastina or Hastinapura in Meerut district (Uttar Pradesh) which had the tradition of having been a capital in the past. In my opinion it was this place situated on the Ganges which acted as Trilochanapala's base of operations after his fall from his position (Nandana in the Jhelum district) in the Punjab. "The Sahis remained a factor in Kashmirian court life long after their extinction as an independent political power."[1] I have tried to view these Sahi refugee princes in a new perspective by arranging them generationwise. And this has proved to be highly rewarding. Four generations of them appear on the scene and play their part after which a thick curtain falls. It has also been shown that not only the descendants of the Imperial Sahis but also the scions of their Governors in the Punjab (discovered and identified here for the first time) moved to Kashmir for shelter and employment. At the end I have inserted the summary of a valuable paper of Dr. David W. MacDowall (London) on the coins of 'The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara' (*NC*, 1968). I am thankful to Dr. P. L. Gupta, Curator, Patna Museum, for bringing to my notice this most relevant piece.

While writing the book I discussed Arabic and Persian materials with Professor Syed Hasan Askari (my ex-teacher), Professor Syed Hasan (Professor and Head, Department of Persian, Patna University), Dr. Qeyamuddin Ahmad (Reader, Department of History, Patna University), and Dr. Motiur Rahman (Department of Urdu, Patna University). The last-named gentleman has also helped me in getting certain geographical points cleared. Indeed he has corrected some mistakes in my book (*e. g.*, concerning Darband, Tarbela, Lalitpur) and has supplied the exact location of Dubkund. These suggestions have been incorporated in the Index. Sanskrit materials wherever necessary were discussed with Professor Bechan Jha (Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Patna University), Dr. Kashi Nath Mishra (Department of Sanskrit, Patna College), and Mr. Madhusudan Mishra (now residing at Delhi after return from West Germany). I am thankful to all these gentlemen for their kind help. The authorities

1. *DHNI*, I, p. 101.

of the following libraries and institutions gave me heartiest cooperation: Patna College Library, Patna University Library, Department of History (Patna University), Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology (Patna University), Bihar Research Society, Khudabakhsh Khan's Oriental Public Library, Archaeological Survey of India (New Delhi) and National Archives of India (New Delhi). In the preparation of the Index I have received help from Dr. Rajendra Ram and Dr. Ram Lakhan Shukla and in the correction of proofs from Mr. Ayodhya Prasad Jha. I thank them all. The printing of the book was an expensive affair. It would not have been undertaken had Mr. Nagendra Narayan Sinha and Mr. Aswini Kumar Sinha, proprietors of the Vaishali Press, Patna, not come forward and given ample facilities. No words are adequate to express the extent of obligation to them. Mr. Parameshwar Singh, proprietor of the Lakshmi Pustakalaya, Patna, is another party that has stood by me in my times of difficulty. My heart-felt thanks to him. I also thank Professor Ram Sharan Sharma, Professor and Head, Department of History, Patna University, for granting a sum for the preparation of the press copy of the manuscript.

A word about the use of diacritical marks in this book. Although they have not been used here, this will not put the readers to any difficulty, because the correct pronunciation has been supplied in Devanagari characters within brackets either at the spot or in the Index. This is the method which is being adopted now-a-days by many authors and editors. A standard example is F. S. Drake (General Editor), *Symposium on Historical Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-East Asia and the Hong Kong Region* (Hong Kong, 1967) giving the Chinese word in Roman and Chinese characters respectively followed by its English rendering within brackets where necessary.

The word India has been used throughout this work in its old pre-1946 sense. Similar is the case with the Punjab which is now comprised in four regions, *viz.*, West Punjab (under Pakistan Government), East Punjab (under Union of India Government) recently bifurcated into Punjab and Haryana (Punjabi and Hindi speaking States respectively), with some areas like the Kangra

Valley (which we have correctly stated as part of the Punjab, having been used in its old pre-1946 sense) recently merged into Himachal Pradesh.

While quoting the original text from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, we have used Vishva Bandhu's edition. Generally Stein's English translation has been followed, but at some places we have preferred R. S. Pandit's translation which we found to be more literal and exact. References bearing canto no. and verse no. without any mention of the book should be treated as from the *Rajatarangini*.

The trasliteration system followed in this book will be clear from the following examples : Krishna (कृष्ण), Kachchhapaghata (कच्छपघात).

YOGENDRA MISHRA

ABBREVIATIONS

(1) BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

AGI	*The Ancient Geography of India* (*the Buddhist Period*) by Alexander Cunningham.
Alberuni	E. C. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., being English translation of Alberuni's Arabic work *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind.*
Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.	*Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India.*
ARASI	Do.
ASR	*Archaeological Survey Reports* by Alexander Cunningham.
Attock District Gazetteer	*Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XXIX—A, *Attock District*, Part A (with Maps). Two editions published in 1909 and 1932 respectively.
Briggs	*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the Year A. D. 1612* in 4 Vols., being the English translation of Firishta's Persian work *Tarikh-i-Firishta* by John Briggs.
CCIMC	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India.*
CMI	*Coins of Mediaeval India* by Alexander Cunningham.
Cunningham	Do.
C. V. Vaidya	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 3 Vols.
DHNI	*The Dynastic History of Northern India* (*Early Mediaeval Period*) by H. C. Ray, 2 Vols.
E. C. Sachau	E. C. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., being English translation of Alberuni's Arabic work *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind.*

EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Elliot	*The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians (The Muhammadan Period)*, edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K. C. B., by Professor John Dowson, M. R. A. S. 8 Vols.
Encyclo. Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
Gardizi	*Kitab Zainul-Akhbar* (Persian) of Abu Said Abdul Hai b. ad-Dahhak b. Mahmud al-Gardizi (c. 440 A. H.). Ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
HMHI	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 3 Vols.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*
IMC	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith.
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
KZA	*Kitab Zainul-Akhbar* (Persian) of Abu Said Abdul Hai b. ad-Dahhak b. Mahmud al-Gardizi (*c.* 404 A. H.). Ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
L. Gopal	*Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* by Lallanji Gopal.
Muhammad Nazim	*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* by Muhammad Nazim.
Nazim	Do.
NC	*The Numismatic Chronicle.*
Raj.	*Rajatarangini* (Sanskrit) by Kalhana.
R. S. Pandit	*River of Kings : Rajatarangini (The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir)* by Kalhana. Translated into English by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit.

Sachau	E. C. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., being English translation of Alberuni's Arabic work *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind*.
Smith	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith.
Struggle	*The Struggle for Empire* being Vol. V of *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna	*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* by Muhammad Nazim.
TA	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Persian) of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi. Translated into English by B. De.
Tab. Nas.	*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Persian) of Minhajus Siraj Juzjani. Translated into English by H. G. Raverty.
TF	*Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Persian) of Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Firishta. Translated into English by John Briggs in 4 Vols.
TKA	*Al-Tarikh ul-Kamil* (Arabic) of Ibn al-Asir. Also called *Al-Kamil fit-Tarikh*.
Vaidya	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 3 Vols.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*.

(2) NON-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Alig. edn.	Aligarh edition
b., born	born in
c., *cir.*, *ca.*	*circa*
comm.	commented, commented by, commentator
D	Daughter
d., died	died in
ed.	edited, edited by, editor, edition
edn.	edition
Eng. tr., Eng. trans.	English translation
esp.	especially
fl.	flourished
fn.	footnote
Intr.	Introduction
mod.	modern
n, n.	note, footnote
N. D., n. d.	No date
r., reigned	reigned during
S	Son
S.	Saka, Saka Era, Saka Samvat (शकसंवत्)
Skt.	Sanskrit
tr., trans.	translated, translated by, translator, translation
V. S.	Vikrama Samvat (विक्रम-संवत्)
W	Wife
wr.	written during, written by, writer

CONTENTS

			Pages
	Preface		iii-viii
	Abbreviations		ix-xii
I	Sources and Problems		1—8
II	Lalliya (Kallar), A. D. 865—895		9—39
III	Samanta (Samand) and Kamaluka-Toramana or Kamalavarman (Kamalu), A.D. 895—921		40—55
	(i) Toramana or Kamalavarman (Kamalu), A.D. 895	41—44	
	(ii) Samanta (Samand), A.D. 895—902	44—52	
	(iii) Kamaluka-Toramana or Kamalavarman (Kamalu) (Restored), A.D. 902—921	52—55	
IV	Bhima, A.D. 921—960		56—88
V	Jayapala, A.D. 960—1002		89—130
VI	Anandapala, A.D. 1002—1013		131—167
VII	Trilochanapala (Tarojanapala), A.D. 1013—1021		168—220
VIII	Bhimapala, A. D. 1021—1026		221—223
IX	The Dispersal of Sahi Population		224—234
	Appendix : A Recent Study of Sahi Coins		235—242
	Bibliography		243—255
	Index		256—277
	Corrections and Additions		278—280

CHRONOLOGY

1. Chronology of the reign of Sankaravarman of Kashmir 31—33
2. Chronology of Bhima Sahi, his daughter, her daughter Didda and Didda's relatives 60—61
3. Dates of the death of the four later Sahi kings 93
4. Chronology of the later Sahis 94
5. Reign-periods of the early Chandella kings 169
6. Probable birthdates of the members of the Takka and Saindhava families of the Punjab 178, fn. 3
7. Dates of various occupational periods at the excavation site of Hastinapura 193
8. Probable birthdates of the early Chandella kings 204, fn. 3

GENEALOGIES

1. Genealogy of Bhima : two branches of his dynasty 97
2. Genealogical tree of the Saindhava family 181
3. Genealogical tree of the Takka family 181
4. Genealogical table showing the relationship between the Sahis and King Harsha of Kashmir 234
5. Genealogical table showing the inter-relation among the Sahis of Gandhara, the Khasas of Lohara and the Parvaguptis and first and second Lohara dynasties of Kashmir 279

CHARTS AND LISTS

1. Coin-types of the Hindu Sahis in a tabular form 18
2. Single Indian letters on Hindu Sahi coins 22
3. List of Indian eras known to Alberuni whose founders are not mentioned 64
4. Chart showing the military strength of Vidyadhara Chandella as indicated by the Muslim authors 201, 280
5. MacDowall's Chronological Chart of Sahi Coins 241
6. List of Mahmud's Indian invasions with dates 266—267

स शाहिदेशः सामात्यः सभूभृत् सपरिच्छदः ।
किमभूत् किमु वा नाऽभूदिति संचिन्त्यतेऽधुना ।।

राजतरङ्गिणी, ७.६९

That Sahi kingdom with its kings, ministers and its court—now one asks oneself whether it ever was or was not.

Rajatarangini, VII. 69
(wr. A. D. 1149-50)

CHAPTER I

SOURCES AND PROBLEMS

I. Previous Work on the Subject

The nineteenth century saw some early studies on the subject of the history of the Hindu Sahi dynasty. This was done by four sets of writers, *viz.*, numismatists (*e.g.*, Thomas, Cunningham), translators of Muslim chronicles of India including Alberuni's *India* (*e. g.*, Elliot, Sachau), translators of the Sanskrit *Rajatarangini* (*e. g.*, M. A. Stein), and archaeologists or writers on monuments and other remains (*e. g.*, Cunningham). The last-named author was able to identify many kings and places connected with this dynasty. But he was not clear on some other points. Elliot and especially Stein were able to do better. It was reserved for the fifth set of writers, who wrote either on the Ghaznavids (*e. g.*, Mahmud) or on the early middle ages of India, to give a definite shape to the history of the Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab. Muhammad Habib and Muhammad Nazim wrote on Sultan Mahmud and the latter also wrote a valuable article on the Hindu Sahis of Ohind in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1927. Sir Wolseley Haig wrote on the Ghaznavids in the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*. Writers on early medieval Indian history include C. V. Vaidya and H. C. Ray.[1]. R. C. Majumdar wrote a valuable article in September 1930 which was published in *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume* (1934). No distinct progress worth the name has been made in Sahi studies since 1935.

II. Sources

Sources for the history of the Hindu Sahi dynasty are of four kinds : inscriptions, coins, monuments, and literature.

1. For full details of authors and works cited above see the bibliography at the end of this book.

The inscriptions, which are in Sanskrit, are very few in number and belong to the reigns of Bhima and Jayapala which names are mentioned therein. Several copper and silver coins of the earlier part of the dynasty have been found and studied. They also contain names which have not been identified so far beyond controversy. There are some remains at Udabhandapura (mod. Ohind or Waihind) which was the capital of the dynasty for the major period of its existence; but they have not been studied in detail. Alberuni's *India* (wr. A. D. 1030) and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (wr. A. D. 1149-50) give us definite materials for the history of the dynasty which is called the Hindu Shahiya by the first (a contemporary author) and Sahi by the second. For the second part of the dynastic history we are fortunate in having many Muslim histories. One of them is written by Utbi, a court historian of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Two other histories from which we have taken much help are written by Nizamuddin Ahmad (a contemporary of Akbar, the third Mughal king) and Firishta who wrote his work in A. D. 1611. There are other good Muslim works which have been utilized by Muhammad Nazim[1] and H. C. Ray. We have been benefited by such references and have acknowledged our debt wherever considered necessary. A close study of the *Rajatarangini* made by us indicated that it provided more material than historians have considered it to contain for the history of North-West India. We have made use of such evidence at several places in this study.

III. Kings

Alberuni's *India* (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13) mentions the following kings of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty : Kallar, Samand, Kamalu, Bhima, Jayapala, Anandapala, Tarojanapala and Bhimapala. The list in our opinion is exhaustive.

1. For an exhaustive treatment of the Muslim sources for Sultan Mahmud (and hence for Hindu Shahiyas) see Nazim's biography of the Sultan. We have also taken advantage of the publication of a recent English translation of Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Vol. 1.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* refers to the following kings of the Sahi dynasty: Lalliya Sahi (V. 155, 233), a rebellious Sahi (his proper name is not indicated) (V. 233), Kamaluka Toramana (V. 233), Bhima Sahi (V. 177-178, VII. 1081), and Trilochanapala Sahi (VII. 47-69). Jayapala and Anandapala are not mentioned at all. Bhimapala too is not mentioned obviously because Kalhana shows that after Trilochanapala's death the dynasty declined (VII. 66, 69). Kalhana refers to a Sahi chief, named Thakkana (VI. 230)[1], whom we regard as belonging to some branch dynasty ruling over a hilly region, because his name is not found in Alberuni's apparently exhaustive list and the imperial capital too is not indicated.

Coins provide some more names that are not found in Alberuni's list. Hence they are to be treated as epithets of the kings and not independent and separate proper names.

IV. Caste

Only one of our sources knows the Hindu Sahis as Brahmanas. And he is the famous Sanskritist Alberuni (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13), who being a contemporary of Jayapala, Anandapala, Trilochanapala and Bhimapala cannot be expected to be ignorant of the real situation. But the evidence against this is so vast that it cannot be ignored and rejected outright. According to this set of evidence which we now present in the following lines the Hindu Sahis were Kshatriyas or Rajputs.

Let us first take the clue from the available inscriptions of the Hindu Sahis. The name of Kala-Kamalavarman, father of Bhima as available in the Dewai Stone Inscription[2], shows that the dynasty was a Kshatriya one, because "the name of the father of Bhimadeva ends in *Varman*, a definitely Kshatriya title"[3]. Also[4], Bhima takes

1. All references given in this fashion without mentioning any book should be considered to be from the *Rajatarangini* throughout this work.
2. *EI*, 21, p. 299, text-line 1.
3. *Ibid.* (by Daya Ram Sahni).
4. This is our suggestion.

pride in being a warrior when he adopts the epithet *Gadahasta* (गदाहस्त) for himself in the same inscription. In another inscription of the same period which in our opinion is of Bhima[1] there is an expression *Arjuna iva prathitapratapah* (अर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रतापः) which refers to the king. Here also the king's being a good warrior is emphasised. There is no comparison with Parasurama and Drona who were celebrated Brahmana warriors of bygone ages, nor is there any reference to the scholarship of the Sahi king in the inscriptions. Had Bhima been a Brahmana, he would not probably have preferred to be compared with Arjuna, a veteran Kshatriya warrior of the Mahabharata age.

We now come to Kalhana and his *Rajatarangini*. Although a later source than Alberuni by 119 years, it has to be admitted that Kalhana was a permanent resident of Kashmir so close to the Sahi dominions, a great Sanskrit scholar, an admirer of the Sahis, and a contemporary of several scions of the former Sahi rulers. He clearly says (VIII. 3230) that there were a numberless host of Kshatriyas in his time who had the appellation Sahi and traced their origins to that royal family. Thus in the opinion of Kalhana the Hindu Sahis were the Kshatriyas. If we study the marriage connections of the Hindu Sahis with the ruling dynasties of Lohara and Kashmir, we clearly find that the Sahis were regarded as the Kshatriyas. Bhima Sahi's daughter was married to Simharaja of Lohara (VI.176-178), who was a Khasa chief (VI. 175). Bimba, a Sahi princess (Trilochanapala's daughter in our opinion) (VII. 103) had been married to Kandarpasimha, son of Tunga (VII. 73), a Khasa from Parnotsa (VI. 318). Rudrapala, a Sahi refugee in Kashmir, was married to Asamati, daughter of Induchandra, a king of Jalandhara (VII. 150-151), who is believed to be of Katoch dynasty. It may incidentally be mentioned that another daughter of the same Induchandra, Suryamati by name, was married to King Ananta (VII. 152), son of Sangramaraja, the founder of the first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir. Sangramaraja, being a descendant of Simharaja, was a Khasa. Harsha, the last king of the first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir, had

1. See the reign of Bhima for this discussion.

Vasantalekha (VII. 956, 1579) and other Sahi princesses (VII. 1470, 1550, 1571; VIII. 227, 546) as his wives. These must have been the daughters of Sahi refugees in Kashmir and the adjoining territories. It may be noted that Manu regards the Khasas as Vratya or low-grade Kshatriyas (X. 22) or even occupying a lower status (X. 44). Kalhana calls the Sahis Kshatriyas (VIII. 3230) and does not maintain any difference between the Turki Sahis (IV. 143) and the Hindu Sahis[1] by mentioning the supplanting of one dynasty by the other. Why was it so ? Was there any relation between the two Shahiya groups ? Hiuen Tsiang calls the king of Kapisa a Kshatriya. This king is usually believed to be a Turki Shahiya ruler. By not maintaining any difference between the two Shahiya groups and calling the Sahis Kshatriyas, Kalhana seems to agree with Hiuen Tsiang. This is also supported by the fact that the system of naming kings is also similar for which reason it is likely that the caste also might have been the same (that is, Kshatriya). The best example of this is provided by the name of the last Turki Shahiya king Lagaturman and that of the third Hindu Shahiya king, Kamaluka-Toramana or Kamalaka[2]-Toramana. The similarity between the two sets of names is obvious.

All Muslim sources except Alberuni regard the Hindu Sahis as Rajputs or Bhatti Rajputs. We have the evidence of at least three sources—Masudi, the author of *Adabul-Muluk*, and Firishta—on this point.

V. Territory

What was the territory over which the Hindu Sahi kings ruled at one time or the other ? This territory extended from Kabul to the Chenab river in the beginning. The kingdom of Lahore was annexed to it in A. D. 999. At a later stage we find Trilochanapala fighting against Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni on the left or eastern bank of the Rama-Ganga river from which it is reasonable to suppose that his suzerainty extended at least up to a few

1. Too many references.
2. See Vishva Bandhu's edition of the text for this variant reading.

miles east of the said river. We, however, concede that the territory of Trilochanapala at this stage was comparatively small and had more length than width. The area occupied by the Sahi kings at different times had thus been changing and gradually shifting to the eastern direction because of the formidable Turki menace from the west.

VI. Capitals

The earliest capital of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty, as Alberuni (Vol. II, p. 10) wants us to believe, was Kabul where this dynasty supplanted the Turki Shahiya dynasty that had ruled at Kabul for a considerable period. After its capture by Yaqub ibn Lais in A. D. 870-71 the Sahis moved to Udabhanda or Udabhandapura on the western bank of the Indus. This town is mentioned as the capital of Gandhara by Alberuni (tr. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 259). Kalhana also mentions this place as the capital of the early rulers of the dynasty, *viz.*, from Lalliya to Bhima (V. 153, 232; VII. 1081). That this continued to be the capital of the next king Jayapala is proved by Firishta (tr. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 9). Jayapala eventually lost this to Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1001-02.

The next capital of the Hindu Sahis was Nandana in the Salt Range near the Jhelum river. When Trilochanapala lost this in A. D. 1014, he made an eastern push. The last occasion when we meet him is the battle on the eastern bank of the Rama-Ganga river. Hence we may reasonably conclude that his capital lay somewhere in the East Punjab or the Doab. No suggestion with regard to it has so far been made by anybody. We have, however, ventured to offer a suggestion which may be seen at the relevant place.

Scholars have imagined several other places as the capitals of this dynasty at one time or the other, *e. g.*, Bhera, Bhatinda, and Lahore. R. C. Majumdar has smashed the theory of Bhatinda with great ability. Lahore seems to have been regarded as a capital [1] because of confusion. It might have been a provincial capital but not the capital of the dynasty which was Nandana up to A. D. 1014.

1. By Firishta.

We do not find any reference to Bhera as the dynastic capital in any of our sources.

VII. Chronology

The chronology of the Hindu Sahi kings has been quite uncertain until we come to the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in Muslim sources and his conflict with the Sahi kings. Thanks to Alberuni (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13), we know the dates of the death of Trilochanapala (which is A. H. 412=A. D. 1021-22) and of Bhimapala (which is five years later, that is, A. H. 417=A. D. 1026-27). Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* provides the following data for the chronology of the Sahi kings :

1. Lalliya Sahi (V. 152-155) has been shown as a contemporary of Sankaravarman of Kashmir (r. A. D. 883-902).

2. Sometime in the reign of Sankaravarman of Kashmir (probably in its second part) Lalliya died and was succeeded by a "rebellious" Sahi (V. 233). His personal name is not supplied by the Kashmir historian.

3. Prabhakaradeva, the minister and superintendent of the treasury of Sankaravarman's son, Gopalavarman of Kashmir (r. A. D. 902-904) vanquished the Sahi kingdom at Udabhandapura (V. 232), bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi upon Toramana, Lalliya's son, and gave him the new name Kamaluka (V. 233). As the event occurred during the reign of Gopalavarman, its date would fall somewhere between 902 and 904.

4. Bhima Sahi, who was the maternal grand-father of queen Didda (VI. 177-178), wife of King Kshemagupta of Kashmir (r. A. D. 950-958), ruled over the throne of Udabhandapura (VII. 1081) *at least* during 950-958. Also, the illustrious Sahi king built the high temple of Vishnu in Kashmir, called Bhima-Kesava (VI. 178, VII. 1082), sometime during the reign of Kshemagupta.

5. Yasodhara, the commander-in-chief of King Abhimanyu of Kashmir (r. A. D. 958-972) invaded and captured Thakkana, the Sahi chief (VI. 230) ruling over a mountainous area, by force (VI. 231). The date of this event lies somewhere between A. D. 958

and 962.[1] It may reasonably be supposed that this Kashmir invasion might have taken place after the death of Bhima Sahi of Udabhandapura.

6. Trilochanapala Sahi was helped by King Sangramaraja of Kashmir (r. A. D. 1003-1028) against the Turushka ruler Hammira (Amir Mahmud of Ghazni, r. A. D. 998-1030) (VII. 47-69). The Amir (VII. 53, 64) was successful against the Sahi king at the battle of the Taushi (VII. 53). Though the date of this battle is not indicated clearly, we know from the Muslim sources that this event took place in A. D. 1013-1014.

In the following chapters we shall take up the individual reigns of the Hindu Sahi kings. In the heading, first we shall give the Sanskrit name as it is available in the *Rajatarangini* or coins or inscriptions; this will be followed within brackets by the name as it is found in Alberuni. If no Arabo-Persian variants are available, the bracketed portions will be done away with.

1. By combining VI. 187-188 and 256-258.

CHAPTER II

LALLIYA (KALLAR)

A. D. 865–895

Alberuni's *India* (tr. Edward C. Sachau, II, pp. 10-14) gives a short account of the Turki Shahiya and Hindu Shahiya dynasties whose rulers were kings of the Hindus and were associated with Kabul. The early part of this may be summarised as follows, keeping as close to Alberuni's text as possible :

The rulers of Kabul, Purushavar (Peshawar) and adjoining countries up to A. H. 417 (A. D. 1026-27) have been divided by Alberuni into two parts, *viz.*, (i) the Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin and ruled under the title of Shahiyas of Kabul for about sixty generations, and (ii) the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of eight Brahmana kings.

Turki Shahiya Dynasty

The Turki Shahiya dynasty boasted of descent from Raja Kanishka of the Kushana dynasty. It was a Hinduised or Hindu dynasty and had become part of Hindu history. The pedigree of this royal family written on silk was said to exist in the fortress Nagarkot, but Alberuni was unable to make himself acquainted with it for various reasons, one of them being that the Hindus did not pay much attention to the historical order of things and were very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings. Consequently only three of the rulers are named by Alberuni in his account, *viz.*, the founder (Barhatakin by name), one intervening monarch (called Kanik), and the last King.

End of Turki Shahiya Rule : Kallar's Early Career and Accession

The last king of this Tibetan house was Lagaturman[1]. His vazir was Kallar whom Alberuni knows to be a Brahmana. The vazir had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence the king let his power by degrees slip from his hands. Besides, he had bad manners and a worse behaviour. Hence people complained of him greatly to the vazir. The ambitious, powerful and apparently popular vazir put him in chains, imprisoned him for correction and began to rule for him. The period of such rule is not indicated. The vazir himself found ruling sweet. His riches enabled him to carry out his plans. So ultimately he deposed Lagaturman, seized the royal throne, and became the founder of the Hindu Shahiya[2] dynasty.[3]

Identification of Kallar with Lalliya

In this usurper, who in the extant text of Alberuni is called Kallar, we have in all probability to recognise the Lalliya Sahi of the *Rajatarangini*[4]. Indeed, this identification has been suggested[5] (which we may strengthen further) on the following grounds[6] :—

1. Alberuni, II, 13. Elliot (Vol. II, Appendix, Note A, 'The Hindu Kings of Kabul') and Cunningham (*Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 55) prefer Kitorman.
2. The Shahiya of Alberuni is the Sahi (शाहि) of Kalhana and Sahi (साहि) of inscriptions.
3. The entire material so far is an adaptation from *Alberuni's India* (tr. Edward C. Sachau), Vol. II, pp. 10-13.
4. M. A. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, 'The Sahi of Udabhanda', p. 336.
5. Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. V, pp. 83-84) first suggested that Kallar of Alberuni was identical with Lalliya of Kalhana.
6. The numbering is ours. At certain points, especially in ground no. 2, we have slightly amplified the original arguments, *e.g.*, by supplying suitable and exact references. No. 5 incorporates our own suggestion.

1. There is no prince of the name of Lalliya on the list of Alberuni. He was a contemporary of Sankaravarman (A. D. ४४३-902) and was apparently dead in A. D. 902–904, when Gopalavarman was king of Kashmir. His son Kamaluka (the Kamalu of Alberuni's list) was a contemporary of Amr ibn Lais (*c.* 879-900 A.D.). As Alberuni's account is confirmed whenever we can check it, it is unlikely that he would omit the name of such an important prince as Lalliya[1].

2. Kalhana does not say anything about the family life of Lalliya Sahi (V. 155) of Udabhandapura (V. 153) when he refers to him for the first time. He subsequently (V. 233) mentions Lalliya as the father of Kamaluka. The latter prince is certainly identical with the Kamalu who, in Alberuni's list of the Hindu Shahiyas, appears as the ruler, next but one after Kallar. The 'Sahi' (आज्ञातिक्रमिण: शाहे: राज्यं, 'the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi', V. 233) of Udabhandapura (V. 232), whom Kalhana mentions in V. 233, without giving his name, as Kamaluka's predecessor, is probably the Samand (Skt. Samanta) who in Alberuni's list follows immediately after Kallar.[2]

3. The description, which the Kashmir Chronicle (V. 152-155) gives of Lalliya Sahi's great power and repute, agrees singularly with what Alberuni has to tell us of the energetic founder of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty.[3]

4. The proposed identification of Kallar with Lalliya finds further support in the convincing conjecture by which Prof. Ch. Seybold, in his remarks on *Alberuni's India* (*ZDMG*, 1894, Band 48, pp. 699-700), has explained the apparent difference of the names and accounts for such a corruption by well-known palaeographic peculiarities of Arabic manuscripts.[4] As a single MS. has preserved for us the text of the *India*, a misreading of this type is inescapable.

1. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 71.
2. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, 'The Sahi of Udabhanda', p. 336.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

5. If not a case of misreading, I have a lurking suspicion in my mind that Kallar may be a convenient contraction of some such word as Kala-Lalliya. This suspicion is based on the Dewai Stone Inscription[1] of Sahi Sri Bhimadeva which calls his (Bhima's) father Sri Kala-Kamalavarman. Probably Kamalavarman inherited this practice of prefixing *Kala* to his name from his illustrious father Lalliya. If so, the various stages of the contraction may be suggested as follows :—

Kala-Lalliya (कल-लल्लिय)
=Kala-Lala (कल-लल)
=Kala-Lara (कल-लर)[2]
=Kal-Lara (कल्-लर)
=Kallara (कल्लर)[3].

Beginning of a New Era

The Turki Sahi kings of Kabul are believed to be Buddhists, while the Hindu Sahi rulers were followers of Brahmanism. Hence it may be presumed that with the accession of Lalliya, which has been called the Brahmanical revolution by some scholars, started a new era in the history of the Kabul-Gandhara region. This was especially discernible in the realms of religion and coinage.

Foundation of a Town and a Temple at Kalar (Attock District)

Some[4] twelve miles east of the junction of the Soan with the Indus and about three miles due south of the village of Shah

1. *EI*, 21, p. 299. It is a small inscription of four lines.There is loss of one letter (*MA*) in the middle of the first line.
2. According to the well-known rule रलयोरभेदः (*RA* and *LA* are interchangeable).
3. The Sanskrit word closest to the Hindustani-looking Kallar is *Kahlara* (कह्लार) which means 'white lotus'. It may be noted that Kallar's son was variously called Kamala (Dewai Stone Inscription), Kamalu (Alberuni), and Kamaluka or Kamalaka (Kalhana). All mean 'lotus'.
4. The material from here onwards (till we say otherwise) has been adapted from the *Attock District Gazetteer*.

Muhammad Wali in the north-west corner of the district of Attock[1] is an old temple called Kalar or Sassi da Kallara, which has hitherto escaped notice. It is situated at a height of about 1,100 feet above sea-level, on the edge of a hillock rising steeply from the bank of one of the torrents, tributary to the Soan stream, which descend from the northern face of the Salt Range; it here passes through a rough tract of hillocks and ravines. The temple is in a ruinous condition, due largely to the gradual wearing away of the soft sandstone hillside on the edge of which it stands.

The temple is built of large bricks, two inches thick, varying in length from 15½ to 17 inches or more, and in breadth from 10 to 10½ inches. On the outer walls these bricks are elaborately carved in decorative designs of a simple character. There is now no sign of image or pedestal of any kind in the temple.

The temple faces due east, commanding a wide view in that direction as well as to the north. Immediately in front is the steep slope of the hill which has evidently lost much by erosion since the temple was built.

Close to the walls of the building was found a coin of Venka Deva, whose reign is placed by Cunningham in the last part of the eighth century A.D. [2]

The nearest existing village is that of Shah Muhammad Wali, three miles away; adjoining it is a low mound of some size, covered with broken pottery. This site called Kalri is certainly a very old one, and may have had some connection with the Kalar temple, but nothing has been found to show its date.

1. In the old Punjab Province, now in West Punjab, West Pakistan. This district was constituted on 1 April 1904, one tahsil being taken from Jhelum District and three other tahsils from Rawalpindi District (*Attock District Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., ed. C.C. Garbett, Lahore, 1932, p. 55).
2. This is what the District Gazetteer states. But Cunningham's ***Coins of Mediaeval India*** (p. 62) gives the dates of this king as A.D. 860 and 895.

Of the origin of these places nothing is known locally. Photographs of the temple were sent to Dr. M. A. Stein, who wrote back as follows : "In style the temple closely resembles two small shrines standing amidst the ruins of Amb, Shahpur District, but these are of a kind of tuffa stone. I do not think the details visible in the photographs permit a close dating, but seventh to ninth century of our era would probably be an approximate date. The large size of the bricks points to the earlier limit.* * * * It is evident from the general look of the structure that it was a Hindu temple. Closer examination of the cella might show whether it was dedicated to Siva or Vishnu".

On the materials available no more definite conclusion as to the date of the temple appears to be possible. Dr. Stein refers to the small shrines at Amb. In style of ornamentation, as well as in general arrangement, their resemblance to the Kalar temple is striking, and it can hardly be doubted that their date is approximately the same. There are three temples (one large and two small ones) at Amb, which lies about fifty miles due south of Kalar. Of these Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV, Calcutta, 1882, p. 34) writes as follows : "The temples are all of the Kashmirian style, but they are almost certainly of late date, as all the arches have cinquefoil instead of trefoil heads, which is the only form in Kashmir. I think, therefore, that their most probable date is from 800 to 950 A.D., during the rule of the Brahman dynasty of Kabul." (At Kalar there is no arch remaining.)

The temple also much resembles the four small temples at Kafir-Kot (almost sixty miles to the south-west in Dera Ismail Khan District, North-West Frontier Province) described in *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV, pp. 26-28.

Above we have given a brief account of the temple at Kalar on the basis of the *Attock District Gazetteer*[1], slightly retouching it

1. *Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XXIX-A, *Attock District*, Part A (with Maps), 1930, second edition, ed. C.C. Garbett, Lahore, 1932, pp. 322-324; first edition for 1907, ed. not mentioned, Lahore, 1909, pp. 31-33. Abbreviated by ourselves as *Attock District Gazetteer*.

with the help of Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV. Before saying anything ourselves, we may quote Cunningham below from another source,[1] as this authority has made a serious effort "to account for the existence of a number of old Hindu temples in the Salt Range, which all belong to the Kashmirian style of architecture, with its fluted pillars and peculiar trefoil arches". He continues : "These temples are found at Amb, Mallot, Ketas, and Baghanwala. They are all Brahmanical buildings, and from their style alone they must be assigned to the most flourishing period of the Kashmirian rule or from about A. D. 65o tc 900. They appear to me to belong to the same age as the temples of Avanti Varmma, as they have the same style of pillars ornamented with spiral twists, with a superabundance of ornament about the trefoil arches, which betokens a late age. As Avanti Varmma's reign extended from A. D. 854 to 883, these temples of the Salt Range may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the 9th century".

Judging from the opinions of competent authorities like A. Cunningham, M. A. Stein and C.C. Garbett and taking the common period into consideration, we find that the ninth century A.D. was a period of great Brahmanistic activity in Gandhara. Here we wish to hazard a conjecture that both the town and the temple at Kalar were founded by Kallar himself. Our reasons for this conjecture are as follows :—

1. The places (Kalar and Kalri) are so called after Kallar. This may not be a pure accident.

2. The temple is Brahmanistic. Kallar was also a follower of the Brahmanical cult unlike his predecessor, the Buddhist Lagaturman.

3 The date of the temple falls in the reign of Kallar.

4. The discovery of a coin of Venka Deva near the walls of the building points to the same thing.

5. The area in question was definitely under Kallar.

6. Not only Kalar, but the entire area of the Salt Range has antiquities belonging to the second half of the ninth century.

1. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. V (Calcutta, 1875), pp. 84-85 (under 'Antiquities of the Salt Range').

7. It was in the Salt Range area that later on the Hindu Sahis found refuge at Nandana after they had lost Udabhanda as a capital.

Thus it appears that Kallar started religious activities in his dominions in various ways and at different places.

Religious Significance of Kalhana's Similes

Kalhana, while describing the contest between Sankaravarman of Kashmir and Lalliya Sahi of Udabhandapura (*Raj.*, V. 152-155), has used similes which in our opinion possess religious significance. Altogether there are four similes—three are clear-cut and direct, while the fourth is by implication. In these passages Lalliya Sahi, placed between the rulers of the Darads and Turushkas and refuge of weak and oppressed kings, has been compared with Aryavarta lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains (V. 152), the great ocean where mountains took shelter for safety (V. 153), and the sun-disc (मार्तण्डस्येव मण्डलम्) which is so resplendent (V. 154). Further, he is called a 'possessor of Goddess of Fortune (Wealth)' (श्रीमान्) (V. 155) which, because of his role as the protector of several kings and of Alakhana, points to his comparison with Vishnu.[1] This may tend to indicate that Lalliya in his own time had acquired much respect and prestige in the domain of religion too; because can there be more sacred a place or region than Aryavarta (for a Hindu) which he is said to resemble ?

Reformation Movement in Hinduism

The reign of Lalliya synchronised with a period of great religious activity in Hinduism. It saw the growth and development of the Natha cult through the *sadhana* and preachings of Gorakshanatha (popularly called Gorakhnath) who is said by competent authorities to have flourished in the tenth century of the Vikrama era (*circa* A.D. 845-945, in round figures). His birthplace was Peshawar or Tila (Jhelum District, West Punjab).[2] As both these

1. Sriman (श्रीमान्) is one of the names of Vishnu in *Vishnu-sahasranamastotra*.
2. Some other places also claim this honour. But the majority of scholars are in favour of either of these places.

places were in the Sahi dominions, we may say that the Sahi kingdom must have been the scene of his early activity. Born in a Brahmana family, he was a Buddhist in the beginning, but turned to the Natha cult of Saivism later. He has rightly been regarded as the greatest figure after Sankaracharya (A. D. 788-820).[1]

Inauguration of a New Coinage: Problems of Sahi Coinage

The Hindu Sahis occupy an important place in the numismatic history of early India. "The type commonly known as the horseman and bull type originated with the Brahmana Shahi dynasty of Udabhandapura (Ohind), but was continued by some of the Rajput states, and also by the Ghaznavis and the Ghoris".[2] The new coinage was inaugurated in the very first reign by Lalliya. But the coinage of the Hindu Sahis is full of problems that have not yet been solved[3] :

1. For the date, birthplace, caste and estimate of Gorakhnath we have consulted the following works : Hazari Prasad Dvivedi, *Natha-Sampradaya*, second revised and enlarged edition, Varanasi, 1966 (esp. pp. 106-108); Rangeya Raghava, *Gorakhnath aur unka Yuga*, Delhi, 1963 (esp. pp. 43-57, 80); Pitambar Datta Badathwal (ed. & comm.), *Gorakh-Bani*, third edition, Allahabad, 1960. His association with the first Hindu Sahi king Lalliya is, however, our speculation. The date in round figures is also our suggestion.
2. Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* (Varanasi, 1966), p. 28.
3. V. A. Smith's opening lines of Section XIV 'The Hindu Kings of Ohind commonly called 'Kings of Kabul', from about 875 A.D. to 1000 A.D.') of his book *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1906), p. 243, are still true: "The coins of the princes commonly called the 'Hindu Kings of Kabul', although long familiar to numismatists, and extremely common in Afghanistan, the Punjab and throughout Northern India, present a puzzle, or rather a series of puzzles, which nobody has succeeded in solving completely".

1. There are no coins bearing the name Lalliya or Kallar, while those bearing the names of his three immediate successors (*viz.*, Samanta, Kamala and Bhima) are available.

2. Some royal names found on coins are not available in Alberuni's list or Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* or inscriptions. Such names are Spalapatideva, Vakkadeva and Padama. Some other names on coins though not actually available in these sources have some sort of phonetic similarity with these names which helps identification, *e.g.*, Khûdavayaka, Kamara, etc.

3. The most peculiar thing observed is that the coins bearing the name of Samantadeva are found in abundance and they were copied later on up to the thirteenth century (and in some areas even up to the seventeenth century). The name Samand (apparently Arabic form for Skt. Samanta) is available in Alberuni's list but not in the Kashmir Chronicle or the inscriptions. He was a usurper. Also, his reign was brief. Now the question arises : after all, how many coins could he issue during his brief reign that continued for such a long period and that are found in abundance ?

4. Single Indian letters are found on some coins.

5. On some coins of Spalapati and Samanta some numerals are indicated. They are of two varieties :

(i) On some coins of Spalapati occurs the symbol for 200 used in ancient Indian bocks, while

(ii) on some coins of Spalapati and Samanta figures ranging from 802 to 817 are found.

Coin-types of the Hindu Sahis with kings under each type are given below in a tabular form. The order of kings has been fixed by us keeping in view probable identification.

Horseman and bull	*Elephant and lion*	*Peacock and lion*	*Hamsa*
Spalapatideva			
Vakkadeva	Vakkadeva		
Samantadeva	Samantadeva		
Khudavayaka	Padama	Kamara	Kamaladeva
Bhimadeva			

Identification of Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta (Numismatic Epithets of Lalliya)

Who are Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta of the coins ?

We propose to solve the problem by suggesting the following course of events :

Kallar, the powerful and rich vazir of the last Turki Shahiya king Lagaturman, imprisoned his master, and himself occupied the throne. He was, however, clever. He thought that killing the king and assuming royal power in his own name would be an unwise act, because the Turki house had held the royal power for so long a period and had thus a legal claim ; the people might rebel and the whole plan might end in a fiasco. Hence, the Turki king was allowed to remain in prison till his death, and the vazir thought it prudent to rule over the dominions not as a full-fledged king but as a "war-lord" ("commander-in-chief") or "lord" or "feudatory". So he adopted epithets like Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta. Kallar did not issue coins in his name for fear of antagonising the people. Instead, coins in the name of Spalapati or Vakka or Samanta (some bearing dates) were issued in the Hindu Shahiya kingdom rather in abundance. Of these, coins bearing the name of Samantadeva were copied later on by several kings. After Kallar's death, the Sahi throne was occupied by a prince who was not Kallar's son. Hence he (the new ruler) too preferred to call himself a feudatory (*samanta*). Or, if he had been installed as a king with the help of some other power, he might have liked to please it by calling himself so. This prince also issued coins in the name of Samanta. Hence much confusion was created with regard to the coins bearing the name Samantadeva. The problem of the abundance of Samanta coins and their later copying can be solved only by this supposition.

Thomas[1] and Cunningham[2] identify Kallar with the Spalapatideva of the coins, though Smith[3] does not find conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. Cunningham[4] says that the true name is

1. *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 180.
2. *ASR*, V, p. 83; *CMI*, p. 58.
3. *CCIMC*, p. 244.
4. *CMI*, p. 58.

Spalapati (and not *Syalapati*) which was the actual title of the *war minister* in Persia, Parthia, Hyrkania, and Armenia. He therefore takes *Kallar* to have been the name, and *Spalapati* the designation by which he was usually known[1]. In Persian and Armenian the military commanders are usually spoken of by this title, and not by their actual names. The title is not foreign to India, as it is only the Sanskrit *Samara-pati*, or "war-lord", that is, the "commander-in-chief". Another practical reason of this identification is that the name of Lalliya or Kallar is not found on coins. Hence somebody with coins among the Hindu Sahi kings has to be identified with him, because he was the founder of the dynasty, was an important king in the region as indicated by Alberuni and Kalhana, had a long reign, and his coins are found in abundance in the area[2].

The identification of Vakkadeva has so far defied any solution. But considering the peculiar circumstances obtaining in the period, we feel inclined to identify him with Kallar, because according to H. Humbach[3] Vakka may be connected with the Bactrian title *bago*,

1. Cunningham says in *ASR*, V, p. 83 : "I would take Kallar as his true name, and Syala-pati as the title, which he assumed on ascending the throne".
2. Speaking of Sahri-Bahlol (formerly in Peshawar District, now in Mardan District since 1937, North-West Frontier Province), Cunningham (*ASR*, V, p. 45) says : "The numismatic evidence, however, [of the former existence of Brahmanism in the Yusufzai district] is very abundant in the number of silver and copper coins of Syalapati Deva and Samanta Deva, bearing the bull of Siva, which are constantly being found, and which are procurable in every bazar in the country." D. C. Sircar (*Indian Coins*, pp. 306-07) refers to some coins of Spalapatideva and Samantadeva in the Kandahar Museum collection and one copper issue of the former king at Gulbahar (also in Afghanistan) in a local factory collection.
3. 'The Iranian tradition of the Hindu Shahis of Udabhandapura' to be published in the Central Asia Number of *Bharati* (*Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University*), X, 1966-67. Quoted by L. Gopal in his *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 29.

pronounced vago and meaning lord. Also, generally scholars are in favour of putting Vakka (or Venka) rather early. The discovery of a coin of this king close to the walls of an ancient temple at Kalar (in the Attock district)[1], which in our opinion was founded by Kallar, simply strengthens our stand.

Smith[2] is of the view that both Spalapati and Samanta being titles and not personal names were used by Lalliya-Kallar. He adduces the following arguments for this[3] :—

1. "Cunningham seems to have sufficient reason for interpreting *Spalapati* as a Sanskritized form of a Persian title meaning 'military commander'. Samanta has the same signification in Sanskrit, and a doubt is thus suggested as to how far these names on the coins should be interpreted as being personal·····[Thus,] as remarked above, the words *Samanta* and *Spalapati* having the same meaning, may both refer to a single person."

2. "The matter is further complicated by the continued use of *Samanta* as a title on both Indian and Muhammadan coins long after the time of Alberuni's Samand."

3. "The fact that the same dates, if they are dates, occur on the coins of both Samanta-deva and Spalapati supports the suggestion that both those titles may have been used by one king, the Kallar of Alberuni, and the Lalliya of the Kashmir chronicle."

Smith[4] offers a hypothesis for explaining this situation : "Possibly the difficulty may be explained by the hypothesis that the coins with the Persian title were struck at mints situated in the territory west of the Indus, which formerly was included in the Persian empire, while those with the Sanskrit title were issued in the Panjab. The evidence concerning the *provenance* of the coins is not sufficiently precise to enable this conjecture to be tested."

Thus we feel that all the coins of Spalapati and Vakka (or Venka) and many (or most) of those of Samanta belong to Lalliya-

1. *Attock District Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., p. 323; 1st ed., p. 33.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.
3. Which have been properly placed and numbered by us.
4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 245-246.

Kallar. This hypothesis solves many of the problems of Sahi history.

Single Indian Letters on Sahi Coins

Single Indian letters are found on some coins of the Hindu Sahis. The catalogues of (i) Cunningham (pp. 63-65) and (ii) Smith (pp. 246-249) contain the following letters arranged ruler-wise :—

1. Spalapatideva—(i) A, Gu, K.
   (ii) Gra (ग्र).
2. Venkadeva— (i) D, Pi, R, V.
3. Samantadeva— (i) Bhi.
   (ii) Bhi (भी), Tri (त्र).
4. Khamarayaka— (i) A, K, Bhi, M.
5. Khudavayaka— (ii) ? Pa (प्) or Pu.
6. Bhimadeva— (i) N.

These letters are unexplained. Only one suggestion has so far been made. Cunningham (p. 63) says that these letters are "perhaps the initials of Mint cities". In one case he has himself suggested (p. 64) that Bhi might stand "perhaps for Bhira".[1] Eight other mint cities which we venture to suggest (from west to east) were Kabul, Nagarahara, Pushkalavati, Purushapura, Ohind[2] (Udabhandapura), Nagarkot, Kalar and Nandana. Were the Sahis constantly changing their places of minting because of the Turki menace ?

Figures 802 to 817 on Sahi Coins

Certain coins of Spalapati and Samantadeva exhibit on the horseman side figures 'written in numerals of a form intermediate between those of the medieval Indian mints and the modern Arabic forms..... graduating into the latter'. They are read as 802, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, and 817 (Pl. XXVI in Smith). Smith[3]

1. Cunningham (*AGI*, p. 130) : "The modern town of *Bhira*, or Bheda, is situated on the left, or eastern, bank of the Jhelam; but on the opposite bank of the river, near Ahmedabad, there is a very extensive mound of ruins, called *Old Bhira*, or *Jobnathnagar*, the city of Raja *Jobnath*, or *Chobnath*."
2. Note that A+U=O. Hence we have given the form Ohind.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

rightly believes "that they must be interpreted as dates expressed in the Saka era, equivalent to years ranging from 880 to 895 A.D." We fail to understand why Lallanji Gopal[1] should feel that "Nothing positive can be made of the figures which Smith prefers to interpret as dates." On the other hand, we are of the view that these figures (802 to 817) and certain marks of which we speak just now will help us immensely in reconstructing the history of North-West India.

Commemoration of an Event in the Year 200 of an Unspecified Era

Smith[2] has pointed out that certain marks on some coins of Spalapati (Catalogue Nos. 2, 6) look like the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200. He has also compared and verified it from *Bower Ms.*, in Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, Pl. IX. But he has not made any specific suggestion with regard to it. I venture to make one in the following lines.

In Smith's Catalogue there are two coins (Nos. 2, 6) that bear the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200. These coins have numerals on margins which are as follows[3] :—

No. 2 811=A.D. 889.

No. 6 ? 812 or 814=A.D. 890 or 892.

Thus the coins have the symbol for 200 but contain different dates ranging from S. 811 to 814=A.D. 889 to 892. Hence the symbol for 200 is either for decoration or it stands for some commemorative event that took place in that year (200) of an unspecified era. We prefer the second alternative.

Now the question is : What is the era in which the date has been expressed ? Evidently, the date has to fall between *c.* A.D. 850 (Elliot's proposed date[4] for the accession of Lalliya-Kallar) and

1. *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 31.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 245, fn. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247. Rendering into Christian years is ours.
4. Elliot, Vol. II, Alig. edn., p. 425. H.C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, p. 76) seems to concur with this view. For our view which is somewhat different see the end of this chapter.

A.D. 889 (=S. 811, the earliest known date of Spalapati mentioned with the symbol for 200). Thus the year 200 should belong to an era that started sometime between A.D. 650 and A.D. 689. Fortunately, we have one such era that started in A.D. 665. This is No. 5 in Alberuni's list of the Indian eras (tr. Sachau, II, p. 7) called 'the era of the canon *Khandakhadyaka*', also known as 'the era of the astronomers' (*ibid.*). Says Alberuni (*ibid.*) : "*The era of the astronomers* begins 587 years later than the Sakakala. On this era is based the canon *Khandakhadyaka* by Brahmagupta, which among the Muhammadans is known as *Al-arkand*". Elsewhere (II, p. 46) he says : "First, we mention the rule of the *Khandakhadyaka*, because *this calendar is the best known of all, and preferred by the astronomers to all others*" (*italics* ours). Thus Spalapati or Lalliya was using the most important eras of his time, *viz.*, the Saka era and the era of the astronomers.

The date expressed by the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200 thus comes to A.D. 865 or, more exactly, A.D. 865-66.

What was the event that was sought to be commemorated by the mention of the date A.D. 865-66 on these silver[1] coins ?

We suggest that this event was the imprisonment of Lagaturman and the full-fledged coronation of Lalliya at Kabul. This must have been treated as the Independence Day of the Hindu Sahis, celebrated properly at the time and commemorated later on through coinage.

Coming to Lalliya Sahi's political relations with contemporary powers, we shall follow the order in which Kalhana mentions them in his Kashmir Chronicle (V. 152-155) while describing the contest between Sankaravarman and the Sahi king.

Inimical Darads of North

Kalhana (V. 152) refers to the position of Lalliya in a way which shows that the Darads or Daradas, who were neighbours of both Kashmir (I. 312) and the Sahis (V. 152), were inimical to the latter : "the illustrious Lalliya Sahi—who, [placed] between the rulers of the Darads and Turushkas as between a lion and a boar, resembled

1. The Hindu Sahis coined silver and copper only, no gold.

Aryavarta [as it lies] between the Himalaya and Vindhya [mountains]". If the dominions of Lalliya Sahi extended equally far to the north, they must have bordered on the territories held to this day by the Dard tribes inhabiting Kohistan on the Upper Indus, Chilas and Chitral. [1]

Turushka (Muslim) Conquest of Kabul (A. D. 870-71)

Lalliya could not keep Kabul under his control for a long time. It was conquered by Yaqub ibn Lais, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty,[2] in A. H. 256 (Nov. 870-Nov. 871). Yaqub ibn Lais had already taken possession of Sijistan and Herat in *c.* A. H. 253 (A.D. 867-68)[3] and Zabul three years later, the last from Rajput or Kshatriya kings probably Bhattis[4]. Thus strengthened, he conquered Kabul and its citadel. The Hindu Sahis could not dislodge the conquerors from the citadel of Kabul which from that day remained in the possession of the Muhammadans[5]. This Muhammadan conquest appears to have been more durable than the preceding ones, for we find coins of Yaqub struck at Panjshir[6], to the north-east of Kabul, in the years A. H. 260 and 261 (A. D. 874-75 and 875-76 respectively). The Sahis still retained possession of the town of Kabul; the surrounding country was also in their possession[7]. For understanding the history of the region for several decades in future, the nice distinction of the tenure of the castle by the Muhammadans while the Hindus still occupied the town[8], should not be lost sight of.

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1. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol II, Note J, p. 338.
2. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 112 (also see p. 126).
3. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 70.
4. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol.III, p. 10.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 19.
6. Elliot, II (Alig. edn.), pp. 419-420. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 57.
7. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
8. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1848, p. 284, fn.

Transfer of the Capital to Udabhandapura (A. D. 870-71)

The Muhammadans, whom Kalhana (V. 152) calls Turushkas, presented a serious problem to Lalliya. They had obtained possession of Kabul in A. D. 870-71 and must thus have been menacing the remainder of the Sahi dominion in the Kabul Valley directly from the west.[1] Against this irresistible pressure of the Arabs, the Sahis were gradually driven towards the Indian frontier. Hence they transferred their capital to Udabhandapura[2] on the right or west bank of the Indus, fifteen miles above Attock,[3] in Mardan[4] District of North-West Frontier Province. This was an ideal site for a capital in the changed circumstances. It was in the centre of the now truncated kingdom, situated on the Indus river, and had the glory of being the old capital of Kia-pi-shi.

Emphasising the importance of this place which is opposite to the Chhachh plain of the Attock district, the compiler of the *Attock District Gazetteer*[5] says : "Und, the ancient *Udabhandapura*, was, for centuries before the Muhammadan conquest, the winter capital of the kingdom comprising both Kabul and the Peshawar Valley, and was designated by the early Muslim invaders of India the 'Gate of India' (*Duar-i-Hind*)". Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid also speaks of "Hund, which was the winter capital of the Hindushahiya dynasty"[6] in his opinion.

But what was the summer capital of the Hindu Shahiya king ? The learned Lieut. Colonel says that it was "Lahore which was his summer capital, and this lay.....in the Swabi Tehsil of the

1. M. A. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, p. 339.
2. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 20. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 74. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 112.
3. Attock lies on the left or east bank of the Indus.
4. Formerly an important tahsil of the district of Peshawar. Constituted into a separate district in 1937 (S. M. Jaffar, *Peshawar : Past and Present*, 1945, p. 34).
5. Second edition, Lahore, 1932, p. 35.
6. Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid, 'Combined Operations at Hund by Mahmud of Ghazna', *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, fifth session, Khairpur, 1955 (Karachi, 1958), p. 131.

Mardan district of the NWFP. This is the Al Lahawar of Al Beruni, which is the real Lahore of ancient historians. It is not the Lahore of the Punjab, as most of the early and contemporary historians have thought"[1]. It may be added that this Lahore, which is only four miles away from Udabhandapura (Und or Hund), is the same place as Salatura (शलातुर), the birthplace of Panini, the celebrated Indian grammarian of the fourth century B. C., that had been visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century A. D. The place was discovered and identified by Cunningham[2].

Refuge of Frightened Princes

One important aspect of the political career of Lalliya Sahi, that has unfortunately remained obscure, is thus stated by Kalhana (V. 153-154) : "in whose town of Udabhanda [other] kings found safety, just as the mountains in the ocean when threatened by the danger of having their wings cut [by Indra]; whose mighty glory [outshone] the kings in the North, just as the sun-disc [outshines] the stars in heaven". We do not know who these kings were[3] and what status they had at the court of Udabhandapura. But it certainly shows that Lalliya enjoyed enough prestige in his time which the Kashmir historian did not fail to record.

Struggle for Mastery over the Punjab

A fierce struggle for supremacy over the Land of the Five Rivers and its adjoining areas was going on in the second half of the ninth century A.D. The contending powers were :

(1) the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj (Mihira Bhoja 836—885, succeeded by Mahendrapala I 885—910),

(2) the Gurjara king (*Gurjarabhubhuj*, V. 149 ; *Gurjaradhipa*, V. 150) Alakhana,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
2. *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 95; *AGI*, p. 49.
3. Does the passage (V. 153, निर्भया नृपाः) refer to the princes frightened by Sankaravarman (V. 148, त्रस्ता नृपाः) because the latter and Lalliya Sahi were enemies ? Also, Sankaravarman has been compared with Indra (V. 158).

(3) Lalliya Sahi of Eastern Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Region and the Western Punjab,

(4) the Utpalas of Kashmir (Avantivarman 855/6—883, succeeded by Sankaravarman 883—902), and

(5) the Turushkas or Muslims of Multan.

All these had their territories in some part or the other of the Punjab.

The Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj were penetrating into the Punjab from the east as the Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription[1] of Mihira Bhoja of the year 276 of the Harsha era (=A.D. 882/83), the Sirsa (Hissar district) stone inscription[2] of the time of Bhojadeva, a passage in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (V. 151) about *samrajya-harana* by Bhoja Adhiraja (हृतं भोजाधिराजेन साम्राज्यं), and another Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription[3] belonging to Mahendrapala I testify. R. S. Tripathi opines that the kingdom of Kanauj under Bhoja "may be roughly defined as limited by the Satlej in the north-west" and "the foot of the Himalayas in the north".[4] Alakhana's territory of Gurjara, the name of which is preserved in those of Gujrat and Gujranwala (towns and districts in the West Punjab, the river Chenab flowing between these two districts), comprised the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jehlam (Jhelum) and Chenab rivers (south of Darvabhisara) to the foot of the Bhimbhar hills, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east.[5] It also originally included Takka-desa (V. 150) by which designation a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab is probably meant.[6] The epithets *Gurjarabhubhuj* (V. 149) and *Gurjaradhipa* (V. 150)

1. *EI*, *1*, pp. 184-190.
2. *Ibid.*, 21, pp. 294-296.
3. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 242-250.
4. *History of Kanauj*, p. 246.
5. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 99; also note on V. 143-144.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 99; also note on V. 150.

probably indicate that Alakhana was a 'Gurjara' king ruling over the Punjab settlement of the 'Gurjaras'.[1] Being of the same extraction, well-known for their hostility towards the Arabs (Muslims), and facing a common enemy in Kashmir[2], the two Gurjara kings, it is reasonable to suppose, were on terms of friendship with each other.[3] This fact of their coming together, taken together with the well-known hostility of the Gurjara and Sahi kings towards the Arabs[4], and Alakhana's alliance with Lalliya Sahi (V.155)[5] may indicate some sort of *entente cordiale* between these powers for joint action against their common enemies.[6]

The second group of powers is constituted by these common enemies, *viz.*, Kashmir monarchy and the Arabs or the Muslims. Their mutual relation is not known.

Relations with Avantivarman of Kashmir

Although no indications are available over this point in our sources, we may hazard some reasonable conjectures.

It seems Lalliya-Kallar got no help from Avantivarman (855/6-883 A. D.), king of Kashmir, against the Arabs or Turushkas when Kabul had been wrested from him in A. D. 870-71. There may have been certain reasons behind this policy of the Kashmir king:

1. Avantivarman was the founder of a new house, that of the Utpalas. Hence he had his own problems at home.

2. He was a king of peaceful disposition and constructive genius. He devoted his entire energy to this purpose.

3. The Arabs were very powerful. Hence it was not considered wise to help the Hindu Sahis against the Muslim Arabs.

1. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 74, fn. 5.
2. The placing of these arguments (suggested by H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, pp. 74-75) is ours.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
5. This has been added here by ourselves.
6. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 75. We may even call it a triple alliance.

The *Rajatarangini* (V. 151) refers to Bhoja Adhiraja's wresting of some dominions from the Kashmir king (evidently Avantivarman on account of their contemporaneity and not his son Sankaravarman). We feel tempted to suggest that in this endeavour Bhoja Adhiraja of Kanauj (A. D. 836-885) must have got help from the Sahi king.

One of the last acts of Avantivarman[1] was marrying his son Sankaravarman to "Sugandha, the daughter of the illustrious Svamiraja, the ruler of the northern region" (श्रोत्स्वामिराजस्य उदक्पथप्रभोः) (V. 157)[2]. Svamiraja may be supposed to have been a ruler in the Dard territory or in some neighbouring tract.[3] Viewed in this light, this matrimonial alliance becomes important, because both the king of Kashmir and the chief of the north[4] were the enemies of the Sahi kingdom.

Relations with Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj

It has been suggested[5] that Kallar or Lalliya Sahi "was possibly supported by Mihira Bhoja" (A. D. 836-885) in his overthrowing Lagaturman, the last Turki Shahiya king of Kabul.

As stated just before, we feel that in his north-west compaign against the Kashmir king (Avantivarman), Mihira Bhoja must have been helped by Lalliya-Kallar.

Relations with Alakhana of Gurjara

We are on firmer ground in relation to Alakhana, the king of the Gurjara country in the Punjab.

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1. Or one of the first acts of Sankaravarman.
2. The text refers to the marriage only. The suggestion about the fixing of the approximate date (*c.* A. D. 883) is ours. Avantivarman died on 11 June 883 A. D. (V. 126). The date of the birth of Sugandha's son Gopalavarman according to our calculation is A. D. 884. He passed away on 10 February 904 A. D. and had a posthumous child that died after its birth (V. 247).
3. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I. note on V. 157.
4. The enmity of the Darads (V. 152) has already been referred to.
5. K. M. Munshi in his Foreword to *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. xi.

Lalliya had intimate and friendly relations with Alakhana and was well-known as Alakhana's support (V. 155). However, it appears, the Sahi king could not save him from the wrath of the new Kashmir king, Sankaravarman (A. D. 883—902), son of Avantivarman, who, wholly bent on the conquest of Gurjara (V. 144), defeated Alakhana and took away Takka-desa from him (V. 149-150). It may, however, be noted that towards the end of the ninth century the power of the once extensive Takka-desa had been considerably reduced, as in the *Rajatarangini* (V. 150) this term is evidently used in a far more restricted sense than Hiuen Tsiang's powerful 'kingdom of Tseh-kia'.[1]

Relations with Sankaravarman of Kashmir

After making a close study of the career of Sankaravarman (V. 127—227, 471 ; VII. 68-69, 82 ; VIII. 1953, 2488, 3130, 3430) and the geography of his conquests (V. 136—156, 214—224) we propose the following chronology for his reign :

A. D. 883—887[2] : Civil War and preparations for world conquest (*digvijaya*).

A. D. 887—892[3] : *Digvijaya* : first phase : south and south-east of Srinagar. Invasion of the following with varying results :

(i) Darvabhisara[4],

1. M.A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on V. 150 (slightly retouched by ourselves).
2. Suggested by R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 251. Other chronological limits have been fixed by ourselves and Sankaravarman's death.
3. *Cf.* Una (Junagadh, Kathiawad) copper-plate inscription (No. 1) of Mahendrapala I of A. D. 893 (*EI*, 9, pp 1-6).
4. It designates the territory of the lower hills stretching between the Vitasta and the Chenab to the north of Gurjara or Gujrat and includes Bhimbhar which lies about 28 miles due north of the town of Gujrat (West Punjab, West Pakistan).

region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi,[1] "preserving his own country" (V. 150). The Gurjara lord was no doubt saved from a more serious defeat by the support of Lalliya Sahi.

Kalhana makes it quite clear that Sankaravarman could not make much headway against the Sahis. His statement that the illustrious Lalliya Sahi, "whose mighty glory outshone the kings of the north," was not received into service by Sankaravarman because the latter desired to remove him from his sovereign position, is only a politic way of saying that his efforts were fruitless.[2] We may infer from these guarded expressions that the expedition of the Kashmir ruler was in this direction not attended by any marked results.[3] By reversing Lalitaditya's policy of friendship towards the Sahis, Sankaravarman only made the task of the defence of the Indian frontier against Islam all the more difficult.[4]

Chronology

We do not know the exact date of Lalliya's seizure of power. As a matter of fact, there has been no serious effort at it. We suggest A. D. 865 and offer the following grounds :—

1. If the figures found on the coins of Spalapatideva (=Lalliya) are interpreted as dates expressed in the Saka era, the figures 802 to 817 that are found there represent the dates A. D. 880 to 895.

2. An analysis of the relevant passages in the *Rajatarangini* (V. 151-155) and the early inscriptions of Mahendrapala I Pratihara shows that Lalliya, the enemy of Sankaravarman (A. D. 883-902) of Kashmir, was certainly alive about A. D. 890-892, the probable period of the encounter between him and the Kashmir king.

1. Takka-desa has been identified with the *Tseh-kia* of Hiuen Tsiang, the capital of which was close to the old city of She-kie-lo (Sakala=Sialkot).
2. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
3. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, p. 339.
4. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

3. As Edward Thomas suggests, Alberuni's mention of Kabul as being the residence of the Turk and subsequently of the Brahmana kings would appear to indicate that the Brahmanas as well as the Turks once possessed it.[1] Hence we feel that, in order to justify Alberuni's remark, at least the first of the Hindu Shahiyas should possess it even though for a short period of five to six years.

4. Mihira Bhoja's increasing contact with the Western Doab and the Punjab is seen from 865 onwards and not before this. The two dated inscriptions of this area are: (i) Ahar (Bulandshahr district) stone inscription of Harsha Era 259 (=A. D. 865),[2] (ii) Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription of Harsha Era 276 (=A. D. 882)[3]. This may not be without significance.

5. Certain marks on some coins of Spalapati (=Lalliya) look like the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200. We have earlier shown that this figure (200) may represent the date A. D. 865 (or 865-66) which may have been the date of his accession.

6. The Ghosrawan (Patna district) rock inscription[4] of Sramana Viradeva of the reign of Devapala, also known as Viradeva-prasasti, has a perfectly Buddhistic atmosphere in it. Viradeva originally belonged to Nagarahara (mod. Jalalabad in Afghanistan). His father, Indragupta by name, has been called a twice-born (*Dvijatih*, द्विजातिः), sprung in a highly noble family, an excellent Brahmana (*Dvijavarah*, द्विजवरः) and, what is more important in the present context, a friend of the monarch (*rajasakhah*, राजसखः). This monarch was not the Brahmanist Lalliya, but probably

1. *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 287.
2. *EI*, 19, pp. 52-62. *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. 3, Part II (September 1926), pp. 82-119. Also noticed in *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1923-24, p. 97.
3. *EI*, 1, pp. 184-190.
4. *JASB*, Vol. 17, Part I, 1848, pp. 492-501. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 17, 1888, pp. 307-312 (ed. Kielhorn). *Gaudalekhamala*, pp. 46-50. Also available in *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 131-141.

the Buddhist Lagaturman at whose court Indragupta seems to have wielded much influence. Also, Viradeva studied under *acharya* Sarvajnasanti of Kanishka Mahavihara which is shown as a flourishing Buddhist institution. Furthermore, there is no reference in the inscription to Lalliya's religious persecution of Buddhists which might have prompted Viradeva to leave his native country. He did so because from the very childhood he had a great desire to follow the path of Sugata by renunciation. The discoveries and researches of J. G. de Casparis indicate that "the most liikely date for the Nalanda copper-plate would be between about 860 and 870 A. D."[1] This inscription was issued in the 39th year of the reign of Devapala. Thus Devapala, who is believed to have reigned for 40 years, came to the throne sometimc between 821 and 831 A. D. The Nilgund[2] and Sirur[3] stone inscriptions of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, both belonging to S. 788 (=A. D. 866-67), state that the rulers of Anga, Vanga and Magadha worshipped him. Thus Devapala was evidently dead at that time. Hence in our opinion Devapala ruled from 825 to 865 A. D. As indicated earlier, his royal contemporary on the Kabul throne was the Buddhist Lagaturman and not the Brahmanist Lalliya.

7. Kalhana does not mention Lalliya under the reign of Avantivarman (855/6-883). He is referred to under his son Sankaravarman (883-902). Thus it may safely be presumed that Lalliya was a junior contemporary of Avantivarman.

8. Let us take two generations into consideration in a particular manner—from the birth of the person to the birth of his grandson—and see what happens. We have dates of Mughal kings for several generations for our help and guidance :

1. *Prasasti Indonesia*, Vol. II (*Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A. D.*) (Masa Baru, Bandung, 1956), p. 297. Also see p. 260 : ".....we have a strong argument to date the Nalanda inscription only a few years after 856 or about 860 A. D. *Possibly later*". (*Italics* under footnote no. 75.)
2. *EI*, Vol. 6, p. 103, line 8.
3. *EI*, Vol. 7, pp. 202 ff.; *IA*, Vol. 12, p. 218, line 6.

Babar to Akbar	:	59 years
Humayun to Jahangir	:	61 years
Akbar to Shahjahan	:	50 years
Jahangir to Aurangzeb	:	49 years

The figure varies from 49 to 61. Thus we may safely keep 52 for our purposes. We have later suggested 892 as the birthdate of Bhima on quite independent grounds. Thus 892−52=840 indicates the birthdate of Lalliya. This favours 865 as the date of Lalliya's accession and not 850 that had been suggested by Elliot[1] long ago and accepted by H. C. Ray.[2]

9. Let us take three complete generations (from the birth of the person to the death of his grandson) into consideration and see what happens. These are the examples from Mughal history :

Babar to Akbar	:	122 years
Humayun to Jahangir	:	119 years
Akbar to Shahjahan	:	124 years
Jahangir to Aurangzeb	:	138 years
Shahjahan to Bahadurshah	:	120 years

Some known cases from Hindu history are :

Bimbisara to Udayin	:	115 years
Chandragupta[3] to Asoka	:	118 years
Samudragupta[4] to Kumaragupta I	:	145 years

Discarding unusually high figures like 145 and 138, we find that the number 120 fits in best and almost all figures are close to it. Hence we accept this figure as indicative of the difference in years between the birth of Lalliya and the death of his grandson Bhima.

1. Vol. II, p. 425.
2. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 76.
3. Treating him as a junior contemporary of Alexander the Great (356-323 B. C.) by six years.
4. Born in A. D. 310. See Shri Ram Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, pp. 109-110: ".....his [Samudragupta's] birth must have taken place not later than the latter half of the first decade of the fourth century A.D."

The date of the latter event has been fixed by ourselves at A.D. 960. Hence the date of Lalliya's birth comes to A.D. 840. His usurpation may thus be dated in 865 and not in "about 850 A.D." that had been suggested by Elliot long ago.

10. Let us now adopt another method by taking into consideration three consecutive reigns. In the Hindu Sahi dynasty we have 95 years for the reigns of the first three generations. In the Mughal period we have the following :

Babar[1] to Akbar	101/111 years
Humayun to Jahangir	97 years
Akbar to Shahjahan[2]	102/110 years
Jahangir to Aurangzeb	102 years
Shahjahan to Bahadurshah	85 years

Let us have some cases from the Hindu period :

Bimbisara to Udayin	100 years
Chandragupta to Asoka	93 years
Samudragupta[3] to Kumaragupta I	105 years

Thus the period of 95 years which we obtain by taking 865 as the date of Lalliya's accession fits in well.

Lalliya Sahi was certainly alive about A. D. 890-92, the probable period of the encounter between him and Sankaravarman. The latest coin of Spalapatideva bears the figure 817 which if interpreted as a date expressed in the Saka era is equivalent to the year 895-96 A. D. (1 March 895 to 18 March 896 A. D., because there were two Sravanas in 895 A. D.). Hence S. 817=895-96 A. D. being the last known regnal year, I regard it as the year of Lalliya's death, to be expressed conveniently as 895 A. D.

Estimate of Work

Lalliya-Kallar-Spalapati was an important figure of his time. But because of paucity of materials, lack of unanimity about

His father died in 1494. He occupied Kabul in 1504. Hence two dates have been given above.

Two dates have been given as his end of rule (1658) and death (1666) do not coincide.

His date of accession according to Shri Ram Goyal (*op. cit.*, pp. 108-109) is A.D. 350 which we approve.

identifications, existence of more important rulers in India at the time and the practice of ignoring the history of border areas, he has so far escaped the attention of scholars. In the very beginning of his career he attained great power and influence. He deposed the last scion of the ancient dynasty of the Turki Shahiyas of Kabul and ultimately secured the crown for himself and his descendants. Religious activities over a wide area, varied coinage, and political events of far-reaching importance have made his reign significant. Although he lost on the front of Kabul, he was successful on all other political fronts because of power, influence and diplomacy. According to the description of Kalhana, he held his own between the Darads and the Turushkas as if placed between a lion and a boar (V. 152). His glory outshone that of all kings in the north (V. 154), and his capital Udabhanda or Udabhandapura was a safe place of refuge for neighbouring princes (V. 153).[1] Elsewhere too he refers to the extensive territory (भूमिवैपुल्यं)[2] of the dominions of king Sankaravarman's rival, [that is Lalliya Sahi,] called Sahidesa and its grandeur because of the king, ministers and the court (VII. 68-69)[3]. This powerful ruler, master of an extensive kingdom, has been correctly recognised as the founder of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of the Kabul Valley and Gandhara.

1. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 99.
2. Gloss on भूमिवैपुल्यं : यस्य देशस्य भूमेः वैपुल्यं (included by both Stein and Vishva Bandhu in their text editions).
3. Stein's translation ("That Sahi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has above been briefly indicated in the account of King Sankaravarman's reign.....") is sligtly defective. We prefer R. S. Pandit's rendering : "In describing the period of king Sankaravarman above the vastness of the empire of the Sahis has been briefly disclosed. [68] That empire of the Sahis, with those ministers, the sovereign and his entourage...[69]"

CHAPTER III

SAMANTA (SAMAND) AND KAMALUKA-TORAMANA OR KAMALAVARMAN (KAMALU) A. D. 895-921

The history of the Hindu Sahi dynasty for a quarter of a century following the death of its illustrious founder is confusing and uneventful. The situation is worsened by the availability of two contradictory pieces of information in respect of chronology :

1. Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi, who lived during the reign of Shamsuddin Iltutmish (A. D. 1211-1236) of Delhi, in his book *Jami-ul- Hikayat* refers to an encounter between the Saffarid ruler Amr ibn Lais (reigned A. H. 265-287=A. D. 879-900), brother of Yaqub ibn Lais, and Kamalu, Rai (=King) of Hindustan. [This event has to take place before April 900, the date of the fall of Amr ibn Lais.]

2. According to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (written A. D. 1149-50) the Kashmir king Gopalavarman (r. 2/3 February 902 to 10 February 904=two years : V. 222, 240) deposed an unnamed Sahi king, called the 'rebellious Sahi', of Udabhandapura and gave his kingdom to Toramana, son of Lalliya, with the title of Kamaluka (V. 232-233). [This event took place in A. D. 902 or 903.]

The two dates thus available are mutually exclusive and have so far defied any solution. Scholars[1] have satisfied themselves by saying that the date of Gopalavarman (902-04 A. D.) as given by Kalhana involves a correction by a few years. This, however, is not so easy as it seems to be. The dates offered by Kalhana, the earlier authority, are very exact from A. D. 855/6 onwards and are therefore quite correct and may not "be regarded as only approximate" as Ray[2] thinks. The Muslim historian, flourishing a few decades

1. *E. g.*, H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 77, fn. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, fn. 4.

later, on the other hand, is recording a strong tradition and passing on a very valuable piece of information which we can refuse only at the cost of history, especially when we know that Muslims have been very particular about dates. Hence it is necessary that a third way be found out.

We have a solution to offer in this regard. According to this, the course of events took place in the following manner :—

Lalliya's immediate successor was his son Kamalavarman, also called Toramana. He was celebrated among the Muslims as Kamalu and was called Rai of Hindustan. Once there was an encounter between him and Amr ibn Lais (r. A. D. 879-900) in which the former lost. Kamalu could rule for a few months only (in A. D. 895 according to the chronology accepted by ourselves). He had to lose his throne which went to Samanta, a relation of Lalliya. Samanta in his turn ruled for about seven years. In the meantime Kamalu was able to secure the help of the Kashmir king for regaining his throne. Samanta was defeated and his kingdom was given back to Kamalu (A. D. 902) who also got the new name of Kamaluka. Thus restored and strengthened, Kamalu ruled for a good number of years.

We are now dealing with the reigns according to this plan.

PART I

TORAMANA OR KAMALAVARMAN (KAMALU) A. D. 895

According to the scheme suggested previously, Lalliya-Kallar was succeeded by his son who is named variously :

(i) in inscription :

Kala-Kamalavarman (Dewai Stone Inscription).

(ii) in literature :

Kamalaka (*Raj.*, V. 233, *v. l.*, *vide* Vishva Bandhu's edn.; Stein's edn. does not mention it),

Kamaluka (*Raj.*, V. 233),

Kamalu (given by Alberuni and Muhammad Ufi),
Kamalava, Kamalua (ditto, variant readings),
Toramana (*Raj.*, V. 233).

(iii) on coins[1] :
Kamaladeva,
Kamara,
Khamarayaka,
Khudavayaka, and
Padama[2].

Most of the names are different forms of Kamala or its derivatives. Padama (=Padma) is a synonym of Kamala. The name Toramana, as Stein (note on V. 232-233) says, "is probably of Turkish origin, and it is interesting to meet with it here in a dynasty which Alberuni distinctly designates as Brahman. But we know that this dynasty had succeeded to an ancient family of undoubtedly Turkish descent, and can thus easily account for the survival of the name." To us it appears that Kallar (Lalliya) had a Turkish wife (probably Lagaturman's daughter), and the son born of this lady was lovingly called Toramana reminiscent of the Turkish mother of the boy. The personal name of this boy was definitely Kamala or Kala-Kamalavarman as we know from the Dewai stone inscription. Alberuni and Kalhana use epithets for him that are derived from his personal name Kamala.

Son of a great ruler, Kamala or Kamalu seems to have made a great impression on his neighbours including the Muslims.

Sakawand Adventure

A. D. 895[3]

Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi narrates a story in his book *Jamiul-Hikayat* (I. xii. 18, given in Elliot, II, p. 172) which mentions Kamalu as the Rai of Hindustan. The story may be briefly stated below :

1. We shall take it up in detail elsewhere (*vide* section on coins).
2. This is our suggestion. *Vide infra.*
3. Muhammad Ufi does not say as to when the event took place. This date has been suggested by ourselves, keeping in view the exigencies of the situation obtaining at Udabhandapura and the personal career of Amr ibn Lais. See *infra.*

Amr ibn Lais conferred the governorship of Zabulistan on Fardaghan and sent him there at the head of four thousand horse. When Fardaghan arrived in Zabulistan, he led his army against Sakawand[1], a large Hindu place of worship in that country with a temple and many idols. He took the temple, broke the idols into pieces, and overthrew the idolaters. He informed Amr ibn Lais of the conquest and asked for reinforcements. When the news of the fall of Sakawand reached Kamalu, who was Rai of Hindustan, he collected an innumerable army and marched towards Zabulistan to take revenge. Even when his camp was in Hindustan, he learnt from some Hindus (who were really Fardaghan's spies) that the Muhammadans had collected a strong force to oppose him. Rai Kamalu abandoned the project on receipt of this news.

If the story is true, it throws interesting light on the weak side of Kamalu's character. First, it was not his business to meddle in the affairs of Zabulistan; if he suffered from some sort of religious zeal, it was ill-placed. Secondly, it was impolitic to fight against a strong ruler like Amr ibn Lais. Thirdly, his intelligence department was hopelessly incompetent and he lacked in self confidence too.

Loss of Throne

In our view, the matter did not stop with the abandonment of the project by Kamalu, Rai of Hindustan. It appears somebody connected with the royal family through blood conspired with the Muslims to overthrow Kamalu in his favour. His personal name and relationship with Lalliya have not come down to us, as he is called simply Samanta ('Feudatory'). The Muslims were the old enemies of the Hindu Sahis who had been ousted from Kabul only about 25 years ago. The misplaced religious zeal of the Rai also

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[1] According to the late Professor S. H. Hodivala, Sakawand "lay about 50 miles south of Kabul, and about 35 miles north-east of Ghazni. The Sagawand Pass lay along the *direct* route from Ghazni to India" (Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 646 : Hodivala's Commentary).

must have been disliked by the rulers of Zabulistan and Kabul. Hence, it seems, Kamalu was defeated by the combined forces of Samanta and the Muslims who now dominated the scene. Kamalu left the kingdom and waited for better days. As in the case of the Mughals or Chaghtai Turks of Kabul and Delhi about six and a half centuries later, so in the case of the Hindu Sahis of the Kabul-Gandhara region, the second generation, the son of the founder, had to pass a test of eligibility and continuance.

PART II

SAMANTA (SAMAND)
A. D. 895-902

Samanta, who now gained the Sahi throne, was either a representative of the late Turki Shahiya dynasty[1] or a blood relation of Kallar. We prefer the latter view as his name occurs in Alberuni's list of the Hindu Shahiya kings (Sachau, II, p. 13).

Help from Kabul Muslims and Kashmir Anti-royalists

Two factors helped Samanta, who was a clever man. He was against the ruling king of Kashmir (Sankaravarman) like Lalliya (V. 155), but unlike him (V. 152) he was a friend of the Turushkas (Muslims) whom Kalhana compared with boars. He joined the side of Amr ibn Lais and got the throne of Udabhandapura with his help[2]. He must have received help from the anti-royalist party of the Kashmir court[3] as well, because the new ruling dynasty of the Utpalas had not yet taken strong roots[4].

Name or Epithet ?

The name Samand as recorded by Alberuni sounds more like an epithet than a proper name. Hence it is possible that his personal

1. This view is held by Muhammad Nazim, p. 194.
2. This is our suggestion. Our sources are silent on this.
3. This is another suggestion of ours.
4. Sankaravarman had to face a civil war before he became the undisputed king of Kashmir (V. 127-135).

name has not come down to us and that he might have tried to please his supporters, especially the Muslims, by calling himself their "feudatory" (*samanta*). Unfortunately Kalhana too is silent about his proper name.

Reason of Kalhana's Silence

M. A. Stein[1] suggests a plausible reason for Kalhana's silence: Is it possible that Kalhana's silence as to the name of the "rebellious Sahi" is caused by some misapprehension on his part or on that of his authority, as to the import of the name *Samanta* ? The word is very common in the meaning of "feudatory", but not known as a proper name except in the Shahiya dynasty. Coins of the latter, very frequent in the Western Punjab, show the legend *Sri Samantadeva*, and thus attest the existence of a Sahi ruler of this name.

Chronology

According to the scheme of events suggested earlier by ourselves, the death of Lalliya, his son Kamaluka's accession and rule for a very brief period (say, a few months) and Samanta's usurpation took place in the year 895 A.D., which is the last known date of Lalliya according to coins. We wish to furnish some additional data for fixing the date of Samanta's accession/usurpation :

1. Samanta, who is not named but called the "rebellious Sahi" (V. 233) by Kalhana, is represented as the master of the Sahi dominions at Udabhandapura (V. 232). The capital was transferred to this place after the Sahis had been ousted from Kabul by the Muslims in A.D. 870-871. Hence the date we are in search of must fall after this (A.D. 870-871).

2. Also, the date must fall between 883 and 902; because in the beginning of the reign of Sankaravarman (883-902) of Kashmir the Udabhandapura throne is occupied by Lalliya, and Samanta came definitely after him. The lower limit is fixed by the date of Prabhakaradeva's expedition against the Sahi capital and

1. *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 101, fn. 31.

Kamaluka's installation sometime in the reign of the Kashmir king Gopalavarman (A.D. 902-904).

3. The date should be a bit removed from 902 to give Samand some time for reigning in order to enable him to find a place in Alberuni's list.

4. The date should be a bit removed from 902 to enable Samantadeva to issue coins which are found in a good number.

5. The career of Amr ibn Lais, the Persian general who was appointed governor of Khurasan (final confirmation in 892) and later also of Transoxiana (February 898), may possibly throw welcome light on the question at issue. From Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi's *Jami-ul-Hikayat* (in Elliot, II, p. 172) we know that there was an encounter between Amr ibn Lais and Kamalu, Rai of Hindustan. What is the probable date of this ? Can we fix the chronological limits for this event ? The *Jami-ul-Hikayat* depicts Amr ibn Lais as the governor of Khurasan and not as the governor of Khurasan-and-Transoxiana which office he was conferred on in February 898. In 899 his general was defeated and slain. In April 900 he was himself defeated and captured at Balkh. He was sent to Baghdad and after remaining in captivity there was executed on 20 April 902 A.D.[1] Thus the heyday of Amr ibn Lais extended from 892 to 899; and the date of the encounter between him and Kamalu must fall sometime between 892 and 897 (prior to his combining the rule of Transoxiana with his governorship of Khurasan). Hence, the date of Kamalu's accession, his encounter with Amr ibn Lais and Samanta's usurpation may be put at 895 or 896 without any difficulty.

Effect of Fall of Amr ibn Lais (April 900 A.D.) on Sankaravarman

We find increased political activity in the north-western region during the two or three years following the fall of Amr ibn Lais

1. A succinct account of Amr ibn Lais is given by W. Barthold in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* for which see Vol. I (A-D), Leyden and London, 1913, pp. 335-336 and Vol. I (A-B), new edn , Leyden and London, 1960, pp. 452-453.

(April 900 A.D.) in the Islamic world. Hence we feel tempted to suggest that it affected Kashmir and Gandhara in its own way.

Taking up Kashmir first, Viranaka, which was in the immediate vicinity of the Kashmir frontier, became turbulent and killed the negligent lord of the Gate (*dvaradhipa*) (V. 214). This compelled Sankaravarman to undertake *digvijaya* for the second time (V. 215-217). In the meantime he took one precautionary measure.

Sahi, the Violator of Order
A. D. 900–901

It appears Sankaravarman, taking advantage of the fall of Amr ibn Lais (April 900 A. D.), sent some 'order' (आज्ञा)[1] to the Sahi king (Samanta), which ('order') must have been of the same type as has been referred to in V. 155 in connection with Lalliya. Samanta, though deprived of his friend's help now, did not obey this order. Instead, he began to instigate the frontier people against the Kashmir king.

Hidden Hand in Kashmir King's Death
A.D. 902

In the second round of his *digvijaya* Sankaravarman of Kashmir destroyed Viranaka, conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Indus, and received the homage of their terror-stricken kings (V. 215–216). As he was marching back through Urasa (the present Hazara district), he was fatally wounded in the course of a conflict with the inhabitants on account of the quartering of his troops and died on 2/3 February 902 A. D. (V. 222)[2]. His violent death in the hills of Urasa, not very far from the Sahi capital, may not be entirely unconnected with the hidden hand of the Sahis[3], because Samanta had been carrying on a policy of hostility.

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1. Inferrable from the expression आज्ञातिक्रमिणः शाहेः राज्यं used in *Raj.* (V. 233) for Samanta. There must then be some *ajna* (आज्ञा) or order whose *atikrami* (अतिक्रमी) or violator he became.
2. He died on the seventh day of the dark half of Phalguna (फाल्गुने कृष्णसप्तम्यां) which fell on two dates, *viz.*, 2 and 3 February 902 A. D.
3. Suggested by H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 75.

Defeat and Dethronement of the Rebellious Sahi

Circa **A. D. 902**

The enmity between the rebellious Sahi and the Kashmir State continued, and the Sahi usurper had to lose his throne.

Kamalu, the deposed king, had not been idle in the intervening period. He was able to win over the ruling party of Kashmir in his favour. Sankaravarman was dead. His young son Gopalavarman was on the throne, ruling under the guardianship of his mother Sugandha. The greatest influence in the state, however, was exercised by Prabhakaradeva, minister[1], treasurer[2] and the widow-queen's paramour[3]. Kamalu invaded Udabhandapura. He was "aided by a Kashmirian auxiliary force"[4] which, in our opinion, constituted the main fighting force. The war, called the Sahi War (शाहिविग्रह, V. 238), resulted in the defeat and dethronement of the reigning Sahi. After vanquishing the Sahi kingdom at Udabhandapura (V. 232), Prabhakaradeva "bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi upon Toramana, Lalliya's son, gave him the [new] name Kamaluka" (V. 233) and returned to Srinagar in triumph[5].

Identification of the Rebellious Sahi

Who was this "rebellious Sahi" (V. 233) mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* ? This prince was certainly other than Lalliya Sahi. Our grounds for this are as follows :

1. Lalliya Sahi's story (V. 152-155) is already over. Also, the story seems to be complete in itself. Hence there is apparently no need to bring him here again.

1. *Raj.*, V. 230.
2. *Ibid.*, V. 232-239, 471; VIII. 1953 (by implication).
3. *Ibid.*, V. 230-237, 472; VIII. 1953.
4. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 101.
5. As Sankaravarman died in the very beginning of the year 902 A. D., we suggest that the Sahi War took place sometime in that very year or at the beginning of the following year. Gopalavarman ruled for two years only (2/3 February 902 to 10 February 904) (V. 240). Hence the date has to be fixed within these limits.

2. Sankaravarman was killed at Urasa. It has been surmised that the Sahi prince had some hand in it. Had this prince been Lalliya, this might have been mentioned clearly by Kalhana who seems to be unwilling to name the rebellious prince.

3. There are chronological difficulties also, because the nameless Sahi had been defeated as late as 902 when Lalliya was probably dead.

4. The whole thing (V. 232-233) has been stated in such a way and tone that Lalliya, whose son Kamaluka was installed as a result of his victorious expedition, is automatically excluded. We can put it differently also : Lalliya (V. 155, 233) and his son Kamaluka-Toramana (V. 233) are mentioned specifically. Also, Kamaluka supplanted the rebellious prince (V. 233). So the rebellious prince is other than Lalliya Sahi.

5. Alberuni gives a list of Hindu Shahiya kings which contains a name between Kallar (that is, Lalliya) and Kamalu (that is, Kamaluka). It is Samand which is Samantadeva of the coins. The rebellious prince of the *Rajatarangini* must be this Samantadeva whom Kalhana did not mention by name.

Coins

Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva (सामन्तदेव) or Samantadeva (सामन्तदेव) alone or in conjunction with other names were current over a long period and have been found in large numbers and in wide areas like Afghanistan (including the Kandahar Museum[1]), the Yusufzai district (Sabri-Bahlol)[2], the whole of the Punjab and of Northern India[3]; one such specimen was found in 1842 in distant Poland "at a place called Obrzycko, in the province of Posen, in company with those of thirty different kings of Europe and Asia, all of whom reigned prior to 975 A. D."[4]

1. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Coins*, p. 306.
2. A. Cunningham, *ASR*, V, p. 45.
3. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 181; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 422.
4. Adrien de Longperier in Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persians relatifs a l' Inde*, p. 223. Quoted in *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 178 and Elliot, Vol. II, p. 422.

They were imitated till about the thirteenth century A. D. They present many complicated problems.

The coins of Samanta or Samantadeva referred to above are of various categories :—

1. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva (without dates) : They may be either his or of Spalapati (Lalliya-Kallar)[1] or even of some unnamed "feudatory" of a suzerain king (either of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty or of some other line), because *Samanta* means "feudatory".

2. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva (with dates in the Saka era) : These dates[2] fall in the reign of Spalapati whose coins also with same dates (in the Saka era)[3] are available. Hence, interpreting Samanta as a title of Spalapati which is itself a title, it may be said that the coins of this category belong to Spalapati or Lalliya-Kallar.[4]

3. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva with some adjective-looking word or name of some deity prefixed to it : "On some coins, we have clearly *Asavari-sri-Samantadeva, Madhava-sri-Samantadeva, Kutamana-sri-Samantadeva*, etc. [5] The expressions *Asavari, Madhava, Kutamana*, etc., found in this connection on the issues of different rulers, appear to be the names of the tutelary or family deities of the kings in question. It is thus not impossible to think that at least some of the supposed issuers of such coins were inclined to present themselves as the *samanta* or feudatory of the deities in question. There are many instances in Indian history of kings ruling their dominions, in a theoretically subordinate capacity,

1. The reason is inferrable from the second category of coins discussed just below.
2. Smith (*CCIMC*, p. 247, Nos. 2, 4, 9) has illustrated three coins with marginal numerals equivalent to 814 [S.=892 A. D.]. This date falls in the reign of Lalliya-Kallar-Spalapati.
3. As interpreted by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Both Cunningham (*CMI*, pp. 85ff.) and Smith (*CCIMC*, pp. 260 ff.) have noticed several examples of this type.

in the names of deities or saints either living or dead. There are also several instances of the mention of tutelary deities on certain types of early Indian coins. It should however be admitted that the expression *sri-Samantadeva* looks more like a name than an epithet. But *Samantadeva* may in such cases be compared with the subordinate title *Samantaraya* (Sanskrit *Samantaraja*, same as the Oriya-Bengali family name *Santra*) found in the medieval inscriptions of Orissa." [1]

4. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva along with the names of various rulers of different dynasties : "There is a difficulty in regarding this Samantadeva as a single individual like an old Sahi king in all the cases. Under ordinary circumstances, it can hardly be expected that so many kings would issue coins consciously retaining on them the name of an old monarch who had been dead many years ago." [2] Elliot also holds that "Samanta, whenever it is found with another name, is throughout merely a title, meaning the warrior, the hero, the *preux chivalier*, the leader of an army, the Amir". [3]

Though Samanta continued the elephant and lion type also, his recumbent humped bull and horseman type is very commonly found. These latter coins can be classified into many sub-varieties according to the position of the legend and the Saivite mark and the particular portions of the figures on the obverse and reverse being distinct.[4] H. de S Shortt (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314) refers to 29 coins from a hoard; on these coins, unlike the earlier coins with this name, the figures of the bull and horseman are drawn in outline. [5]

1. The view is of D. C. Sircar (*Indian Coins*, pp. 235-236) which we fully endorse.
2. We fully endorse this view of D. C. Sircar (*ibid.*, p. 235) who continues : "This could have been possible only when there were special circumstances justifying this strange behaviour of the rulers". The coins of our category 3 above are of this type.
3. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 423.
4. L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 30.
5. *Ibid*,

It would appear "from the number of Samanta's proper coins still extant, and the variety of countries they are to be found in, that he must have held under his sway some very rich and extensive kingdom."[1]

PART III

KAMALUKA-TORAMANA OR KAMALAVARMAN (KAMALU) (RESTORED)

A. D. 902-921

The Sahi War (शाहिविग्रह, V. 238) of A. D. 902 affected politics both at Srinagar and Udabhandapura.

Aftermath of Sahi War in Kashmir

Prabhakaradeva, who had previously been Sankaravarman's treasurer (V. 471-472) and was now his son Gopalavarman's minister and superintendent of the treasury, became arrogant in his behaviour after his return from the Udabhandapura expedition. He was supreme in State affairs not only because of his important offices, but also because of his being the paramour of the widow-queen and the comparatively young age of the king Gopalavarman. He was extremely greedy. "Sankaravarman's treasures which were obtained by maltreating the people, were freely used up by Prabhakara and the other paramours of his (Sankaravarman's) wife."[2] "When King Gopalavarman had by degrees realised the state of things, this robber of his wealth and honour became for him a terrible eyesore. When the king insisted on an inspection of the treasury-chests, he told him that all that was missing in the treasury had been spent on the expedition against the Sahi."[3] Thereupon the treasurer became afraid of the king and conspired to get him murdered. Gopalavarman died after a rule of two years.

Changed Sahi Policy Towards Kashmir

The policy of the first two Sahi kings towards Kashmir was one of hostility, one of the reasons being that the Sahis were now

1. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 182.
2. *Raj.*, VIII. 1953.
3. *Raj.*, V. 237-238.

masters of part of the region formerly under Kashmir. A new era began in Gandhara-Kashmir relations with the Sahi War and the Kashmirian intervention in Udabhanda affairs. Kamaluka had been restored to the Sahi throne with Kashmirian help. Hence, because of this and other factors to be related later, the kings of Kashmir adopted a policy of friendliness and helpfulness towards Gandhara which continued at least for more than half a century and was revived later too.

Coins

Difficulties still exist on the point of identification of names. If, however, the identifications suggested are accepted, it may be said that Kamalu or Kamaluka (neither of these names is found on any coin) issued all types of coins which are four in number. We are arranging below the types keeping in view the nearness of the available name to Kala-Kamala or Kamalu :—

1. *Hamsa* type : H. C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, p. 102) refers to a coin in the British Museum with the name *Sri Kamaladeva* on the obverse and the figure of a *hamsa* on the reverse.

2. Peacock and lion type : A single specimen of a coin of the British Museum has on its obverse a peacock with out-spread wings to left and on the reverse a lion to left with the legend *Sri Kamara* [1]

3. Horseman and bull type : The legend on this type of coins has been read variously :

Khamarayaka
Khamaradaka } (Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 59, 64)

Khvadava (Thomas)

Khvadavayaka (Bayley and Rodgers)

Khudavayaka (Smith)

This king is considered as identical with Kamalu.

4. Elephant and lion type : The legend on this type is *Sri Padama*[2]. The king remains unidentified. I wish to identify him with Kamalu as both Padama and Kamala mean 'lotus'.

1. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 62.
2. Smith, *CCIMC*, p. 243.

H. Humbach describes Khvadavayaka as derived from an old Iranian title *xvatʻavaya* meaning sovereign which may be compared with the Bactrian *xoadeo* used by the Turki Shahis of Kabul, the predecessors of the Shahis of Ohind[1].

Date of Death

What is the date of the close of Kamaluka's reign ?

No date is available. Hence we are left to speculate. We suggest A.D. 921 on the following grounds :

1. The reign of Kamaluka is not eventful. Hence we cannot presume a long reign for him. A reign slightly less than the average figure obtained by comparing several cases may be given to him.

2. According to the scheme of chronology suggested by ourselves (see chapter on Bhima) Kamaluka's son Bhima was born in A.D. 892 and was 29 years old in 921, quite fit to rule over the Sahi dominions. Any date later than this for the commencement of the eventful reign of Bhima does not appear to be reasonable.

3. Let us take two complete generations (from the birth of the person to the death of his son) into consideration and see what happens. We have dates of Mughal kings for several generations for our help and guidance :

Babar to Humayun	: 73 years
Humayun to Akbar	: 97 years
Akbar to Jahangir	: 85 years
Jahangir to Shahjahan	: 97 years
Shahjahan to Aurangzeb	: 115 years
Aurangzeb to Bahadurshah	: 94 years
Some known cases from Hindu history are :	
Bimbisara to Ajatasatru	: 99 years
Chandragupta[2] to Bindusara	: 77 years
Samudragupta[3] to Chandragupta II	: 104 years

1. Quoted by Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 31.
2. Treating him as a junior contemporary of Alexander the Great (356-323 B. C.) by six years.
3. Born in A.D. 310. See Shri Ram Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, pp. 109-110 (by implication).

Discarding unusually high figures like 115 and 104, we find that the figures range between 73 and 99. We take a slightly lower figure (81) for the reason indicated under no. 1 above. Thus 840+81=921 A.D. represents the date of Kamaluka's death.

4. We have derived a date, A.D. 921. for the accession of Bhima for which see the following chapter. This has been arrived at independently. This date will naturally indicate the date of his father's death as well.

CHAPTER IV

BHIMA

A. D. 921-960

Kala-Kamalavarman (Kamaluka or Kamalu) was succeeded by his son Bhima Sahi whose relationship with his predecessor-in-office is indicated by his Dewai Stone Inscription (*EI*, 21, 299).

Name and Epithets

The name of this ruler is available in all kinds of sources :

1. *Sahi-Sri-Bhimade*[*va*] in his Dewai Stone Inscription (*EI*, 21, p. 299) ;
2. *Sri-Bhima-deva* on his coins (Cunningham, pp. 64-65 ; Smith, p. 243 ; L. Gopal, p. 72) ;
3. *Sri-Bhima-Sahi* in Kalhana's Sanskrit *Rajatarangini* (VI. 178, VII. 1081) ; and
4. *Bhima* in Alberuni's Arabic *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind* called *Alberuni's India* or simply *India* (or *Indica*) in English translation (II, p. 13).

The following epithets of Bhima are given in his inscription :

(i) *Gadahasta* (गदाहस्त),
(ii) *Paramabhataraka* (परमभटारक),
(iii) *Maharajadhiraja* (महाराजाधिराज),
(iv) *Parameswara* (परमेश्वर), and
(v) *Sahi* (साहि).

Of these, epithet nos. 2 to 4 were widely current among the rulers of the period in India and were indicative of sovereign power.

Chronology

Before we proceed further, it is necessary to know the chronology on which the whole framework of events depends. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* furnishes sufficient data for knowing the dates (*e. g.*, of birth, marriage, birth of son and grandsons) of Didda, the famous

queen of Kashmir. As she was Bhima's daughter's daughter, we may be in a position to know the approximate (nay, almost exact) dates of Bhima's and his daughter's birth and the latter's marriage.

A close study of the *Rajatarangini* has offered us the following valuable clues for determining the date of Didda's birth. The points have been grouped according to reigns for the sake of convenience and easy reference.

(A) The reign of her husband (Kshemagupta), A. D. 950-958 (8 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 150-187.

1. Didda is youthful, domineering and clever (probable years of life : 22-30) :

(a) The references to Didda's husband's youth (*tarunya*, तारुण्य) (VI. 150) and licentious character (VI. 150-167) indicate that she was youthful in her husband's reign. Had the case been different, it would have been mentioned by Kalhana who does not hesitate to refer to a queen of tender age (*sisuh*, शिशुः), Nanda, wife of King Gopalavarman (V. 245).

(b) Kshemagupta was under the complete influence of his wife Didda who was a domineering lady in her husband's reign. This is proved by the *Rajatarangini* and the coins. According to the Chronicle (VI. 177) as Didda wholly engrossed his mind, the king became known by the humiliating appellation of *Didda-Kshema* which is contracted on the coins to *Di-Kshema*.[1] The coins with this name are extremely common.

(c) She was clever enough not to immolate herself on her husband's death (VI. 195-196).

(B) The reign of her son (Abhimanyu), A. D. 958-972 (14 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 188-292.

2. Abhimanyu, her son, is called *sisuh* (शिशुः) (VI. 188) when he became king under the guardianship of Queen Didda (VI. 188, 193; VIII. 3438). This word, however, is capable of many interpretations :

(i) The sense in which the word is frequently used is 'a child', 'an infant,' or 'a small boy'. For example, it has been used

1. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 45. Smith, *CCIMC*, p. 270.

in this sense in VII. 260, 261 with reference to Utkarsha (the second son of Kalasa) who was still a child at the breast (VII. 257).

(ii-iii) It is also used in the sense of 'a boy under eight or sixteen years of age'. The latter sense ('a boy under sixteen years of age') is implied when Kalhana uses *sithilasaisavah* (शिथिलशैशवः, VII. 143) and *vyutkrantasaisavam* (व्युत्क्रान्तशैशवं, VIII. 1227) with reference to King Ananta and Prince Jayasimha respectively who were more than sixteen at the time.

(iv) In a wide sense it is used for the period one is busy in acquiring learning. Kalidasa[1] uses the word in this sense, making *saisava* (शैशव) and *yauvana* (यौवन) mutually exclusive. Kalhana also has some such thing in his mind when he makes use of words like *anatikrantabalyah* (अनतिक्रान्तबाल्यः, V. 229), *sithilasaisavah* (शिथिलशैशवः, VII. 143) and *vyutkrantasaisavam* (व्युत्क्रान्तशैशवं, VIII. 1227). Thus Kalasa who is about 23 years[2] old is called *sisu* (शिशु) (VII. 242), and his *yauvana* (यौवन) is referred to in the following *sloka* (VII. 243).

Here, following the context, it seems Abhimanyu was comparatively young (say, 14 years of age) so that he had to remain under the guardianship of his mother.

3. Her son ruled for 14 years. He had three sons who succeeded him one after the other. As he was comparatively young at the time of his accession, these three children were *definitely* born between his accession and death, *i. e.*, between 958 and 972.

4. Even at the time of his death, her son was not fairly aged. This further proves the point raised under no. 2 above. His youthfulness (*tarunya*, तारुण्य, VI. 290) has been described (VI. 290-291) and "this moon of the subjects" has been called "yet half-full" (*ardhamanah*, अर्धमानः) at the time of his death (VI. 292).

5. Towards the end of the reign of her son (say, between 970 and 972) she is said to be "old" (*vriddhabandhakya*, वृद्धबन्धक्या, VI.

1. *Raghuvamsa*, 1. 8 :

शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां
यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां
योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥८॥

2. By combining VII. 723, 233, 240.

286). This piece of information is highly important. It may go as far as indicating almost the exact date of Didda's birth. For Ananta (*varddhake*, वार्द्धके, VII. 242) and Harsha (*vriddhah*, वृद्धः, VII. 1676) have been called old when they were between 42 and 44 years of age. Ananta was *definitely* more than 43 years old[1] on the day following[2] the crowning of his son Kalasa. Harsha was more than 42½ years old[3] when he was lamenting the death of his young son Bhoja. Thus we may suppose that Didda too might have been of this age (43 or 44) between 970 and 972.

(C) The reigns of her grandsons (Nandigupta, Tribhuvana and Bhimagupta), A. D. 972-980/1 (8/9 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 293-331.

6. Her first grandson Nandigupta, who ascended the throne in A. D. 972, has been called *balah* (बालः) at that time. This means that his age was eight years or so. A year later, he is mentioned as "little grandson" (*arbhake naptari*, अर्भके नप्तरि, VI. 310). It may be noted that at the time of accession Ananta, who has been called *balah* (बालः) (VII. 135), was eight years old.[4]

7. Her third grandson Bhimagupta ascended the throne in A. D. 975 while yet a *sisuh* (शिशुः, VI. 326). After living four or five years (चतुष्पञ्चानि वर्षाणि तिष्ठन्) in the palace (*i. e.*, by 979 or 980 A. D.), he became a little more developed in intellect (यावत्किंचित् प्रौढीभवन्मतिः) (VI. 326), and recognised in his mind (तस्य चेतसि) that the affairs of the kingdom and his grandmother's ways of living were not right, and in need of reform (VI. 327). This may help us to speculate over the age of the third grandson of Didda, who was soon disposed of by the merciless and shameless queen in A. D. 980/1 (VI. 332). He might have been 12/13 years old at the time of his death.

(D) Her own reign (the reign of Didda), A. D. 980/1-1003 (23/22 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 332-368.

1. By combining VII. 452, 484, 233, 240.
2. VII. 240.
3. By combining VII. 1717, 1497, 1676 and VIII. 35.
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in this sense in VII. 260, 261 with reference to Utkarsha (the second son of Kalasa) who was still a child at the breast (VII. 257).

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1. By combining VII. 452, 484, 233, 240.
2. VII. 240.
3. By combining VII. 1717, 1497, 1676 and VIII. 35.
4. By combining VII. 452, 484, 127, 131, 135.

8. Didda dominated the political and cultural scene of Kashmir history from 950 to 1003, *i.e.*, for 53 years and had consequently a long life. She must have been 75 or so at the time of her death.

Thus, if we suppose

(i) that marriage took place when the bridegroom and the bride were 19 and 15 respectively,

(ii) that the first issue was born a year later (when they were 20 and 16 respectively), and

(iii) that the interval between the births of two issues was two years,

the following chronology emerges. In order that the whole thing may be understood in a right perspective, we have also furnished the dates given in the *Rajatarangini*. Dates suggested by ourselves are preceded by *c*.

c. 892 Bhima Sahi born.

c. 912 Bhima's daughter born.

c. 927 Bhima's daughter married to King Simharaja, the lord of Lohara and other strongholds (VI. 176-178).

c. 928 Daughter (Didda) born to Bhima's daughter and King Simharaja of Lohara (VI. 176-177,304; VII. 1284). Thus Didda was Sahi's daughter's daughter (VI. 177) and Sri Bhima Sahi was the maternal grandfather of this lady (VI. 178).

c, 943 Didda married to Kshemagupta (VI. 176, VII. 1284, VIII. 3437-3439), son of Parvagupta (VI. 150, VIII. 1956).

c. 944 Didda's son Abhimanyu (VI. 188) born.

950 (30 June) King Parvagupta died (VI. 148). His son Kshemagupta became king in youth (VI. 150).

950-958 Kshemagupta married to Chandralekha (VI. 179, 194) and other wives (VI. 195).

958 (22 December) Kshemagupta died (VI. 187). Abhimanyu, child-son of Kshemagupta, became king under the guardianship of Queen Didda (VI. 188, VIII. 3438).

c. 964 Abhimanyu's first son Nandigupta born.

c. 966 Abhimanyu's second son Tribhuvana born.

c. 968 Abhimanyu's third son Bhimagupta born.

972 (13 October) Abhimanyu died (VI. 292). His first son Nandigupta became king (VI. 293).

973 (10 November) Nandigupta died (VI. 311). His brother Tribhuvana succeeded to the throne.

975 (11 November) Tribhuvana died (VI 312). Bhimagupta made king (VI. 313).

979 (22 November) or 980 (15 November) The child Bhimagupta, after living four or five years in the palace, becomes a little more developed in intellect now (VI. 326).

980/1 Bhimagupta died (VI. 332). Didda herself ascended the throne (*ibid.*).

1003 (8 August) Queen Didda died and her nephew Yuvaraja Sangramaraja became king (VI. 365).

Accession, Coronation and Starting of Eras

The heading of chapter 49 of Alberuni's *India* (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 1-14) is 'A Summary Description of the Eras'. An idea of the subject-matter of this chapter is given in unmistakable terms where Alberuni says (p. 9): "I have already excused myself on account of the imperfection of the information given in *this chapter*.

For we cannot offer *a strictly scientific account of the eras to which it is devoted...*" (*italics* ours).

In the edition of the extant book this chapter contains two different types of materials :—

A. A summary description of the Indian eras :

1. Eras vying with each other in antiquity whose use has been given up by the people—7 eras (pp. 1-5).
2. More important eras adopted by the people that are listed at one place and/or referred to in the text with names of founders—9 eras (pp. 5-8).
3. Less important eras adopted by the people of particular areas in the North-West Region (mentioned in the text in connection with 'different beginnings of the year' without names of founders)—5 eras (pp. 8-10).

B. A summary description of two ruling dynasties :

1. The Turki (Tibetan) dynasty of kings called the *Shahiyas of Kabul* (pp. 10-13).
2. The Hindu Shahiya dynasty (pp. 13-14).

We wonder why the portion regarding the Shahiyas (*i. e.*, the Turki Shahiya dynasty and the Hindu Shahiya dynasty) was inserted here at all when *this chapter is devoted to a strictly scientific account of the eras*. Probably it was done because the Turki Shahiyas were descended from, or in any other way connected with, Kanishka whom present-day historians regard as the founder of the well-known Saka era. For the insertion of the account of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty we propose the following explanation.

The manuscript of Alberuni's *India* is not free from textual corruptions. There are lacunae in it (*e. g.*, Vol. I, pp. 269, 270).

Hence we suggest that lacunae exist in this chapter as well, and some portions linking the eras with the account of the dynasty have not come down to us. We propose reconstruction of the text in the following manner by putting our suggested portions within brackets [ ] :—

1. Page 10 (top) :

"Durlabha says.....that the astronomers of Multan begin it (=the year) with Caitra.

"[Some of the above-mentioned eras were founded by the kings of these people and areas inhabited by the Hindus.] The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin."

2. Page 13 (middle) :

"This Hindu Shahiya dynasty [responsible for the foundation of some of the Indian eras] is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence."

We should now examine the epochs of eras under category 3 above and see which of them might have been started by one or more kings of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. We arrange here Alberuni's materials in the form of a chart. The eras have been put in a chronological order. Exact dates have been taken from the book on *An Indian Ephemeris* after calculating the years. Details about the Kashmirian calendar (called the *Laukika* era) have been taken from Stein's *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 58 and put within brackets. In case nos. 1 and 4 of the chart below are identical, the epochs of the *laukika-kala* of serial no. 4 (9 November 926 A.D. and 7 March 927 A. D.) become inapplicable; in that case the year 105 of the *laukika-kala* of serial no. 4 is to be interpreted as the completed year and hence equal to the 4106th (current) year of the *Laukika* era of serial no. 1.

List of Indian eras whose founders are not mentioned :
Gauge-year : 400 Yazdajird (9 March 1031 A. D : Chaitra *sudi* 13)

Serial No.	Name of the era	Area or people covered	In which year was that era in March 1031 A. D. ?	The beginning of the year of the era took place with	The first year of the era started on
1.	The Kashmirian calendar [=the *Laukika* era]	The people of Kashmir	the sixth year of a new *centennium* [= 4106 of the *Laukika* era]	the new moon of Chaitra	[Chaitra *sudi* 1 of the year 3076-75 B. C.]
2.	An era of the people who inhabit the country between Bardari and Marigala	All the people who inhabit the country between Bardari and Marigala	the 110th year of an era of theirs	the month Kartika	5 October 921 A.D.
3.	An era of the people of Nirahara	The people living in the country Nirahara, behind Marigala as far as the utmost frontiers of Takeshar and Lohavar	the 108th year of their era	the month Margasirsha	12 November 923 A. D.
4.	The *laukika-kala*, *i. e.*, the era of the people		105 is the year of the *laukika-kala*	the month Margasirsha (Chaitra for the astronomers of Multan)	9 November 926 A.D./7 March 927 A. D.
5.	An era of the people of Kanir	The inhabitants of Kanir which is conterminous with Kashmir	the 84th year of an era of theirs	the month Bhadrapada	19 August 947 A.D.

Through the process of elimination we find that nos. 2 and 3 are suitable for our consideration, because neither regions (*desa*) nor dates (*kala*) nor character (*patra*) goes against our theory of the foundation of some era or eras by the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. After all, eras are generally started by kings ; the Shahiya dynasty has been mentioned in a chapter which is devoted to Indian or Hindu eras; and the region is North-West India where so many eras were current among different peoples. Who could have then started these eras whose founders are not named by Alberuni ? The dates are 921 and 923 when the Indus basin was being ruled over by Bhima of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. Hence we are of the view that the era of A.D. 921 was started by Bhima to commemorate his accession.

Why is it that we find another era in the same region two years later ? We wish to suggest that this was to commemorate another event of the same value, that is, the coronation of Bhima at Kabul. In the tenth century A. D. the city of Kabul was already Muslim, whilst the suburb was inhabited by the Hindus and the Jews. Kabul was the coronation city[1] of the kings of the Sahi dynasty, as Konigsberg in Prussia was that of the Hohenzollerns. Even when they had ceased to reside there and had made Udabhanda the capital of their empire, they had to be crowned in Kabul.[2] It has been remarked[3] that the Sahi kings retained possession of the town[4] of Kabul and always respected it as their original capital. Every king of this family had to be crowned in Kabul, otherwise the people would not acknowledge him king. The Sahi kings though they resided at Wahind went to Kabul for their coronation.[5]

Thus it is that Bhima was also duty bound to go to Kabul for his coronation which used to be an important event in the life

1. E. C. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 394.
2. R. S. Pandit, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., p. 619.
3. By C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 20.
4. As distinguished from the castle that was now Muslim.
5. C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 20.

of a Sahi king. The difference between the dates of accession and coronation is probably due to the time taken in negotiating with the Muslim ruler of Kabul for the purpose of coronation.

It is not necessary to presume that the eras connected with the accession (921) and the coronation (923) of Bhima were started immediately after the actual events. It is possible that they were started later in the reign when Bhima achieved much eminence and glory in North-West India especially because of his connections with Kira, Lohara, Kanauj and Kashmir.

A Unique Present From King of Kira

Circa A. D. 925

An important piece of Information about Bhima Sahi is available from an unexpected quarter. The Khajuraho stone inscription[1] of Dhanga of V. S. 1011=A. D. 954-55, which consists of 28 lines and contains 49 verses in fluent and correct Sanskrit, in its verse no. 43 (lines 24-25) gives an account of how the Chandalla king Yasovarman (*c.* 925-950 A. D.) had got the image of Vaikuntha[2] (=Vishnu) which was installed by him in an especially constructed temple mentioned in the previous verse. Unfortunately it has not been correctly translated so that full import of this has not come to light.

The original text and F. Kielhorn's English translation of the verse in question are as follows :

Text

कैलाशा(सा)द्भोटनाथः सुहृदिति च ततः की[25]रराजः प्रपेदे
साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगव(ब)लेनानु हेरम्ब(ब)पालः ।
तस्मूनोर्देवपालात्तमथ हयप[ति]: प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां
वैकुण्ठं कुण्ठितारिः क्षिति[धरति]लकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ।।[43]

English Translation

"(*The image of*) Vaikuntha (*which*) the ornament of princes, the illustrious king Yasovarman, who crushed his enemies, has set

1. *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 122-135. For verse 43 (lines 24-25) see pp. 129 (text), 134 (Eng. tr.).
2. Vaikuntha is a synonym for Vishnu (*vide Vishnusahasranama-stotra*).

up (*here*)—the lord of Bhota obtained it from the Kailasa, and from him Sahi, the king of Kira, received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapala obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (*Yasovarman himself*) received it from Devapala, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), the son of (Herambapala)".

The most glaring mistake in translation has been treating Kiraraja as an adjective of Sahi, though they are two independent personalities. All words must be of the same type according to syntax, but this was ignored in the present case. This prevented the Sahi contemporary of Herambapala from appearing in the picture at all. Also, *tasmat* (तस्मात्) and *anu* (अनु) should not go together; thus they indicate two parts of the sentence and should not refer to the same part. Thirdly, the words *suhrid* (सुहृद्) and *dvipaturagabalena* (द्विपतुरगबलेन) have been used to indicate contrast. It shows the different methods of getting the thing—either as a present or in lieu of something (*or* won by means of force). Fourthly, the word *Hayapati*, although freely and frequently used at that time as a title, may not be interpreted here as such, because the implication seems to be that there were other unnamed contenders for this image but Devapala could retain it for some time only because of his cavalry; also, that Devapala continued to be lord of horses like his father. Hence the word is meaningful here. Lastly, it may be noted that each of the kings mentioned, *viz.*, Bhotanatha, Kiraraja, Sahi (a king not recognised properly by translators so far), Herambapala, Devapala and Yasovarman, has something stated about him.

The Sahi king occurring in the Chandella inscription of A. D. 954-55 has not been mentioned by his proper name. Sahi was the dynastic title of a well-known powerful king, a reigning king at the time. He was at the height of his glory because of his matrimonial alliances. Hence it was not considered necessary to name him. This inscription of Khajuraho tells us that he was a contemporary of Herambapala (=the Gurjara-Pratihara king Mahipala, A. D. 912-944) and a worshipper of Vaikuntha or Vishnu. His Vaishnavism is known from the *Rajatarangini* (VI. 178, VII. 1082) as well.

An analysis of the verse indicates that there were altogether six transactions if we include Bhotanatha's getting the image from

(the) Kailasa and Devapala's inheriting it from his father as two separate transactions. Thus our translation, or better paraphrasing of the verse, with transaction numbers within brackets, is as follows :

Text

(1) कैलाशा(सा)द्भोटनाथः
(2) सुहृदिति च ततः की[25]रराजः प्रपेदे
(3) साहिस्तस्मादवाप
(4) द्विपतुरगव(ब)लेनानु हेरम्ब(ब)पालः ।
(5) [*Then there was a case of inheritance by his son Devapala Hayapati;*]
(6) तत्सूनोर्दैवपालात्तमथ हयप[ति]ः
प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठं
कुण्ठितारिः क्षिति[धरति]लकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ।।[43]

Meaning in English

The lord of Bhota (Tibet or a region inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language) obtained (the image of) Vaikuntha from (the) Kailasa (that is, the mountain bearing the name or the chief of the territory or a person having that name). From him the king of Kira received it as a token of friendship. The Sahi (the king well-known as Sahi or the king of the Sahi dynasty) received it from him. (From him, *i. e.*, Sahi) afterwards Herambapala (=Mahipala of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty) obtained it for a force of elephants and horses (*or* through the use of force composed of elephants and horses). His son Devapala, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), retained it till the illustrious king Yasovarman himself, the ornament of princes, who had crushed his enemies, received it from him. The last king set up the image (at Khajuraho in a beautiful temple described in the previous verse).

I fix the date of the transaction between Kiraraja and Sahi at *circa* A. D. 925 as this event took place probably in the earlier part of Sahi's reign.

The present which Sahi received from his friend the king of Kira, a small kingdom near Kashmir (*Raj.*, VIII. 2767), was

really unique. The image may be seen in the Vaishnava temple at Khajuraho variously known as the temple of Chaturbhuja or Ramachandra or Lakshmana. The central head of this four-armed, three-headed image of Vishnu is that of a man, while the other two are associated with the Nrisimha (the man-lion) and Varaha (the boar) incarnations of the deity.[1] It is very beautiful.

Was this idol, received from Kiraraja, kept at the Sahi capital Udabhandapura ? Or, was Bhima ambitious enough to found an independent temple town presumably to enshrine this precious image and attract people to it ?

Foundation of a Temple Town Bhimnagar or Nagarkot

Circa **A. D. 925**

Indications available in works of Muslim historians suggest that Bhima Sahi was the founder of a temple town variously called Bhimnagar and Nagarkot. The fort with a "large idol" that was conquered and plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1009 is known to Utbi[2] as Bhimnagar for which Firishta[3] uses the names of Nagarkot, Fort of Bhim, and Bhim. Thus, to us it appears, the complete name of the temple fort was Bhimanagarakotta or Bhimnagarkot with Bhimnagar, Nagarkot and Bhimkot (Fort of Bhim) as its abbreviations. Bhim (used by Firishta) is a further contraction of Bhimnagar or Bhimkot.

Firishta[4] supplies us with three important points that help us in the identification of the founder :

(i) "The fort, at that time denominated the Fort of Bhim,....."

(ii) "Bhim was built by a prince of the same name, on the top of a steep mountain, ..."

1. Kanwar Lal, *Immortal Khajuraho*, Delhi, 1965, p. 211 and plate 27.
2. Elliot, II, p. 34. The footnote gives various corrupt readings.
3. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*

(iii) "In Bhim were found.....pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bhim, the details of which would be tedious."

Muhammad Nazim[1], on the authority of Unsuri (p. 85), writes that Sultan Mahmud's spoils at Nagarkot included "a richly decorated throne reputed to be that of Raja Bhim of the Pandava Dynasty" This is still another association of Nagarkot with Bhima.

There is no doubt that the founder of Utbi's Bhimnagar and Firishta's Nagarkot and Fort of Bhima was Bhima. But who could this Bhima be ? Was he the one famous in the Mahabharata ? No, because Firishta, the only authority giving some detail, does not refer to the founder in that vein. From what we already know on the basis of Utbi and Firishta, we can say that Bhima, the founder of the temple town of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot,

(i) was an important king of the region, *i. e.*, North-West India;

(ii) was religious-minded;

(iii) flourished not long before Mahmud ; and

(iv) was self-conscious of his greatness.

All these things point to one person and to one person alone, and he is Bhima Sahi, the Vaishnava king of Udabhandapura of the tenth century A. D. Probably the Sahi king founded Bhimnagar in order to enshrine the image of Vaikuntha. Priests were appointed to look after the temple. A strong garrison was stationed. The town gradually became very flourishing and many treasures were accumulated because of the idol; for there came pilgrims from all sides to visit it.[2] The example of the idol of Multan called Aditya was before Bhima who might have taken inspiration from it.

1. P. 90.
2. Alberuni (I, p. 116) makes this remark in the context of Multan which proved to be true in the case of Nagarkot as well.

Not being satisfied with what he had done already for this temple town which was not situated at any traditional tirtha, Bhima established at Nagarkot (Bhimnagar) a mint-town as well. This hypothesis of ours is based on the letter N found on his coins and on Sultan Mahmud's finding "seventy thousand thousand *Shahiya* dirhams" at Nagarkot (Bhimnagar) in A. D. 1009 at the time of its plunder.

But where was this Bhimnagar or Nagarkot? It must have been situated in the kingdom of the founder. And we know that the kingdom of his successor, Jayapala, extended to the Chenab river. Thus this temple town was situated somewhere between the Indus and the Chenab.[1]

C. V. Vaidya[2] suggests that Bhimashah of Kabul founded the town Bhavan or Bhimnagar below Kot Kangra, but assigns no reason for this. We do not see any ground as to why Bhima should found a temple town outside his own kingdom[3]—a town that was a source of great income to the Sahi state.

Matrimonial Alliance with Lohara

Circa **A. D. 927**

One of the earliest events of the reign of Bhima was his daughter's marriage with King Simharaja of Lohara.

Lohara or Loharakotta, 'the Castle of Lohara', has played an important part in Kashmir history as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two cantos of Kalhana's work. The term *kota* or *kotta* is used very frequently in the chronicle as an abbreviation for Loharakotta.

1. We have taken up the question of its identification later while treating the War of A. D. 1008-09 during the reign of Anandapala.
2. Vol. III, pp. 51, 55, 65. *Cf.* Elliot, II, p. 425 for a similar view of Reinaud.
3. The Kangra-Jalandhara region does not seeem to have formed part of the Shahiya empire as it was ruled by an independent local dynasty.

The credit for correctly identifying this place goes to M. A. Stein.[1] It is situated south-west of Srinagar in the valley of the Tohi, a tributary of the Jhelum. Close to it is the Tosamaidan Pass, which since earlier times to the present day has formed one of the most-frequented and best routes from the Western Punjab to Kashmir. The importance of this route and the easy communication thereby established, explains the close political relations of Lohara (mod. Loharin) with Udabhanda and Kashmir. We may also suppose that the ancient Loharakotta derived no small portion of its vaunted strength from the natural advantages of its situation.

The fact that Simharaja was, himself, married to a daughter of Bhima Sahi, the mighty ruler of Udabhanda and Kabul, as well as the marriage of Didda, the daughter of Simharaja, with King Kshemagupta of Kashmir, proves that the territory of Simharaja of Lohara could not have been restricted to the Loharin Valley alone. It probably comprised also other neighbouring valleys to the south of Pir Pantsal, such as Phullapura (situated in the vicinity of the castle, not yet identified), Attalika (mod. Atoli, situated close to the point where the valley of Loharin meets that of Gagri, some eight miles below Loharin proper), Attalikapana (mod. Mandi, situated at the actual junction of the two valleys just mentioned above), Savarnika (mod. Suran, a large village situated in the upper valley of the Prunts Tohi, its distance from Loharin being about two marches), Sadrun, perhaps also Parnotsa itself (mod. Punch or Prunts in the lower valley of the Tohi or Taushi, being on the great route to the Western Punjab).[2] There are at least two clear references that support the view that Lohara had under it several strongholds and adjoining territories. They are : VI. 176,

1. *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note E ('The Castle of Lohara'), pp. 293-300, hereinafter abbreviated as Stein's Note on Lohara. I have heavily drawn on this Note and notes on the relevant passages regarding the identification and extent of this kingdom.

2. On the basis of Stein. References to the text of the *Rajatarangini* are too numerous to be quoted here.

where Simharaja is called *durganam Loharadinam sasta* (दुर्गाणां लोहरादीनां शास्ता), 'the lord of Lohara and other strongholds', and VIII. 8, *Loharasambaddham mandalantaram* (लोहरसंबद्धं मण्डलान्तरम्), 'the separate territory dependent on Lohara', 'a separate principality the appanage of the fortress of Lohara' (R. S. Pandit)=Lohara and the adjoining territories. This not too small a kingdom had an old and respectable dynasty. Also, because of the Turkish menace, need might have been felt for alliance with strong neighbours.

From VI. 175 (where Simharaja, the chief of Lohara, has been called a 'Khasa ruler') and VII. 773 (where king Utkarsha, a direct descendant of Simharaja, is designated as a Khasa) it is clear that the ruling family of Lohara belonged to the Khasa tribe.

Simharaja was descended from king Nara of Darvabhisara (VII. 1282). His father Chanduraja "had two sons named Gopala and Simharaja" (VII. 1283). Of the two, Simharaja whose family continued seems to be the elder one. It was this Simharaja to whom Bhima Sahi gave his unnamed daughter in marriage (VI. 177-178). The Hindu Sahis of Udabhanda and the Khasas of Lohara were now allied. We do not know whether the Lohara king had any wife other than the Sahi princess.

In course of time "Simharaja had many sons (बहवात्मनः सिंहराजः) and a daughter called Didda who was given in marriage to king Kshemagupta"[1] (VII. 1284). Of the sons, two are named that are Udayaraja (VI. 287, 355; VII. 1285) and Kantiraja (VII. 1285) to whose descendants' account are devoted the last two cantos of Kalhana's work respectively.

That Simharaja had many sons is also proved by another statement of Kalhana who elsewhere says that before raising Sangramaraja to the rank of Yuvaraja, Queen Didda tested her nephews who were all children (VI. 356, सर्वान् शिशुप्रायान् भ्रातृसुतान्). As these nephews were of the same age, they were evidently sons of different brothers of Didda, which proves the point. The expression *sarvan bhratrisutan* (सर्वान् भ्रातृसुतान्) has been used in the plural number. Hence at

1. R. S. Pandit's translation which though not too literal has been preferred.

least three nephews (including Sangramaraja), being sons of Didda's three brothers, were there. One of the brothers was definitely Udayaraja, father of Sangramaraja who is the only contestant for Yuvarajaship named. The second brother might have been Kantiraja. The third brother was not the eldest one whose son cannot be a child at the time of the said selection contest. So he may be presumed to have been a brother younger than the two named above.

Kalhana provides indications in his chronicle which may enable us to look for the eldest of the four brothers of Didda (*or* the four sons of Simharaja) inferred from the *Rajatarangini* references :

King Vigraharaja of Lohara is called the father of Kshitiraja (VII. 251), the paternal uncle of king Ananta[1] (VII. 139, 251), the brother[2] of Sangramaraja (VII. 74), and the son of Didda's brother (VI. 335). While so many relatives of his are named, nowhere is his father's proper name indicated. Although, for the sake of convenience, Stein has shown Vigraharaja as the son of Udayaraja in his genealogical table facing the last page (p. 144) of his Introduction in Vol. I, he is not sure of the parentage of Vigraharaja : "We do not know whether he was a son of Udayaraja or another of Simharaja's numerous sons".[3] We very much admire the caution of Stein as we have come to the conclusion that Vigraharaja was the son of some unnamed son of Simharaja who (the unnamed son of Simharaja), according to our calculation, was the eldest son of Simharaja and born in *c.* A. D. 930 (two years after Didda). Our arguments for regarding Vigraharaja's unnamed father as the eldest son of Simharaja are as follows :—

1. Kalhana makes Simharaja father of several sons (VII. 1284, VI. 356 by implication) and introduces Vigraharaja as the son of Didda's brother (VI. 335) who for some reason or other is not named by the chronicler. Thus we have no difficulty from the side of Kalhana.

1. Ananta was the son of Sangramaraja (VII. 135, VIII. 3440).
2. *Cf.* Stein's note on VII. 251 regarding the use of *bhrata* (भ्राता) in the sense of cousin.
3. Stein's Note on Lohara (p. 294).

2. Vigraharaja rebelled twice (VI. 335-347, VII. 139-141) against Kashmir to whose throne he was a pretender. Why was he doing it and that repeatedly and with seriousness (*cf.* his intrigues, VI. 343-345, VII. 74) ? This may tend to prove that he was the son of the eldest son of Simharaja and hence wanted the throne of Kashmir for himself.

3. The most important argument which we would offer is that Vigraharaja appeared as a pretender (VI. 335-340) at the very beginning of Didda's reign (A. D. 980/1-1003). This might have taken place in 980-81 or 982 A. D. He is called *nripa* (VI. 335) which means that he had ascended the throne of Lohara after the death of his unnamed father. He must have been 25 or so at that time. Thus he could not have been the brother of Sangramaraja, one of whose children, Ananta, was born in A. D. 1020 (VII. 452, 484).

4. It was, we are persuaded to think, because of his already having become king of Lohara, rebellion against Didda, and being fairly aged (contrast VI. 356) that Vigraharaja was not selected as the Yuvaraja of Kashmir by Queen Didda. Sangramaraja fitted into the scheme, because he was sufficiently younger (VI. 356).

Thus we are in a position to say that Simharaja had at least four sons that are inferrable from Kalhana's references if carefully pieced together.

The daughter of Simharaja and Bhima Sahi's unnamed daughter was Didda (VI. 176-177, 304; VII. 1284). Thus Didda was Sahi's daughter's daughter (VI. 177) and the illustrious Bhima Sahi[1] was the maternal grandfather of this lady (VI. 178). She seems to be the eldest child of her parents. A hint at this position is provided by VI. 356 where old Didda calls her nephews who are all children. She was much benefited by her father. "Under her father she had received ample training in diplomacy and statesmanship".[2] Hence

1. This Bhima Sahi, as may be expected, is known to Kalhana as belonging to Udabhandapura (VII. 1081).
2. R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819* (Delhi, 1969), p. 63.

she showed utmost regard to him. Much later, in A. D. 972-73, under the name of her father, Simharaja, she erected (VI. 304) the illustrious shrine of Vishnu Simhasvamin (VI. 304), also known as Simharajasvamin (VIII. 1822), at Lohara, and a *matha*, called Simharajamatha (VI. 304, VII. 1568), at Srinagar near Vijayesvara, for the residence of foreign Brahmanas.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Didda was lame (VI. 226, 276, 308, 328; VIII. 419, 3388) and a porter-woman used to carry about on her back the lame queen at games which required running (VI. 308).

Let us now revert to the early part of the reign of Bhima Sahi.

Loss of Vaikuntha Image

Sahi could not retain the Vaikuntha image for a long time.

Because of some military plan[1] or calamity or disaster not known to us he required some force (war elephants and war horses). Who was able to part with some of his forces *at any price whatsoever* ? The Pratihara king Mahipala, also known as Kshitipala, Vinayakapala and Herambapala[2], was the only person capable of doing it at the time, as he was known as a great conqueror. Also, the Pratiharas of Kanauj were then widely noted for their cavalry. Thus Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, referring to Mihira Bhoja says that "no other prince has so fine a cavalry."[3] Again, according to the Chatsu (Jaipur district) stone inscription of Baladitya,[4] his great-grandfather Harsharaja, a Guhilaputra (Guhilot) prince, presented horses to Bhoja, perhaps because of the latter's fondness for them. Similarly the Gwalior epigraph speaks of the "best cavalry" in charge of the feudatories of Ramabhadra. The occurrence of the term *Hayapati* for Devapala

1. We have made a hypothesis in this connection in the following section.
2. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 259.
3. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 4.
4. Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, 12, pp. 10-17. For a summary see *DHNI*, II, pp. 1197-1200, 1208 (genealogical table).

Pratihara in the Chandella inscription probably indicates that the Pratiharas continued to enjoy among their contemporaries a reputation for maintaining an excellent cavalry, and as such were regarded "lords of horses" *par excellence*, although they did not, like the Gahadavalas who used the epithet Asvapati, adopt it as an official title in their records.[1]

And so it was that Bhima Sahi had to part with his precious possession presumably for making some important conquest or preserving the integrity of his state. He gave the Vaikuntha image to Herambapala (Mahipala) and got a force of elephants and horses for himself.

The text of the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga of V. S. 1011 (A. D. 954-55) (verse 43) is capable of another interpretation also as indicated above by us (within brackets). But it will be too fantastic to accept the view that Mahipala crossed several independent kingdoms and the rivers of the Punjab intervening between his own dominions and Udabhanda situated on the western bank of the Indus river to defeat Sahi for taking the Vaikuntha image from him. Hence we reject this view outright.

Conquest of Urasa

Circa A. D. 935

In the seventh century A. D. Kashmir was the suzerain of Takshasila, Simhapura (Salt Range) and Urasa (Hazara district of North-West Frontier Region). The Hindu Shahiyas being the inheritors of the dominions of Kapisa (later Kabul) and Kashmir in the plain area of the Indus basin, it was now clear that Urasa was the only kingdom that had not accepted the above-mentioned claim of the new suzerain. Earlier kings of the dynasty were either busy or weak. But the ambitious Bhima Sahi must have taken this insult to heart. There were favourable circumstances before him. His capital Udabhandapura was near Urasa. Lohara was his ally because

1. Points regarding the Pratiharas' fame for cavalry have been taken from R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 258, where necessary references may be found.

of his daughter's marriage with its Khasa king. Kashmir was being ruled by a weak monarchy and was a prey to dissensions and ambitions of all kinds of people. Hence Bhima made a plan for the conquest of the neighbouring state of Urasa.

In the meantime, it appears, there arose some unexpected situation, *e. g.*, an invasion of the Turushkas or of the Darads, that upset his plan completely. In spite of probable help from Lohara, Bhima found that his resources were inadequate. So he had to make a supreme sacrifice by exchanging force for the idol of Vaikuntha.

He succeeded in his mission. With the elephantry and cavalry that he got from Herambapala of Kanauj, he drove away the old enemy who had invaded him suddenly, and attacked and conquered Urasa. The small kingdom now formed part of the dominions of Bhima the Conqueror (*Jeta*).

Despite the fact that there were favourable circumstances for the Sahi king, we would not have ordinarily made any hypothesis about Bhima's conquest of Urasa. But we have four strong arguments in our favour :

1. Kalhana is silent about Urasa for the period A. D. 902 to the middle of the eleventh century, although Urasa being so close to Kashmir, we would have expected relations between the two of some kind or other. What may be the possible reason of this ? In our opinion, the silence is because Urasa had been conquered by the Sahis and had formed part of their kingdom till its absorption by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in the beginning of the eleventh century ; when the Ghaznavid dominions were ruled by Mahmud's weak successors, Urasa somehow or other managed to become independent sometime in the middle of the sixth decade[1] of the eleventh century. When Kalhana breaks his silence about

1. The sixth decade was particularly a period of weakness and misrule for the Ghaznavids. Hence we have suggested this for the recovery of independence by Urasa. This fits in well with the chronology of the *Rajatarangini*.

participation in the battle of Nandana (third capital of Sahis) in A. D. 1013-14 on account of his gubernatorial post and the prevailing feudal system. (ii) The *Turushka-samara* (VII. 51) or 'War against the Turks' on the Taushi (VII. 53) between the allied forces of Sahi Trilochanapala and Tunga (the Prime Minister[1] and Commander-in-Chief[2] of Kashmir) and the Turkish Amir Mahmud in A. D. 1013-14 (VII. 47-71) : Effects on the Sahi and the Amir. (iii) Conversion of some Kashmiris to Islam as a result of the victory of the Turushkas (VII. 70) : by implication. (iv) Effect of Kashmir's participation in the Sahi-Turushka War on its internal politics (VII. 72-119) : Murder of Tunga (VII. 47, 79, 98, 103 furnish key to chronology). (v) Effect of Kashmir's participation in the Sahi-Turushka War on its external politics : The *Turushkahava* (VII. 118) or 'War against the Turks' of A. D. 1015-16 : Mahmud's first punitive attack on Kashmir; the second came in 1021-22 A. D. (vi) Trilochanapala's shifting of the Sahi capital to Hastika (Hastina or Hastinapura) and making it a base of operations (VII. 65) for resistance against the Amir. (vii) Existence of Takka *Raja* or Governor Bhijja (whose grandson Sangiya and great-grandson Prithvipala have been called *rajabijins* in VIII. 3348, 2316 respectively) in the time of the last Hindu sovereign of the Punjab, and his active participation in the *Hammirasangara* (VIII. 1190) or 'War against the Amir (Mahmud)' in November 1020 A. D. (during Mahmud's second Doab invasion). (viii) Thorough destruction of monuments indicative of royalty in Sahidesa and its capital Udabhandapura (VII. 69). (ix) Condition of the Punjab after Muhammadan invasion and conquest : constitution of *Turushkavishayas* and display of cruelty (VIII. 3346-3348). (x) Exodus of Hindu families from the Punjab as a result of Muslim invasion and rule of the region (Sahis : VII. 144, 178, 274, 956, 1470, 1550, 1571; VIII. 227, 1149. Saindhavas : VIII. 1042, 1046, 1148-1150, 1868, 2007. Takkas : VII. 520, 1001, 1064, 1207; VIII. 1091, 3346-3348). I have interpreted Hastika in a geographical sense (just

1. VI. 333.
2. VI. 354; VII. 90, 101 (कम्पनाधिपतिः), 116. Term *kampana* (कम्पन) or *kampana* (कम्पना), 'chief command of army', admirably explained by M. A. Stein (1862-1943) in V. 447n.

as Sambodhi was done long ago in the sense of Bodh-Gaya), and have identified it with Hastina or Hastinapura in Meerut district (Uttar Pradesh) which had the tradition of having been a capital in the past. In my opinion it was this place situated on the Ganges which acted as Trilochanapala's base of operations after his fall from his position (Nandana in the Jhelum district) in the Punjab. "The Sahis remained a factor in Kashmirian court life long after their extinction as an independent political power."[1] I have tried to view these Sahi refugee princes in a new perspective by arranging them generationwise. And this has proved to be highly rewarding. Four generations of them appear on the scene and play their part after which a thick curtain falls. It has also been shown that not only the descendants of the Imperial Sahis but also the scions of their Governors in the Punjab (discovered and identified here for the first time) moved to Kashmir for shelter and employment. At the end I have inserted the summary of a valuable paper of Dr. David W. MacDowall (London) on the coins of 'The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara' (*NC*, 1968). I am thankful to Dr. P. L. Gupta, Curator, Patna Museum, for bringing to my notice this most relevant piece.

While writing the book I discussed Arabic and Persian materials with Professor Syed Hasan Askari (my ex-teacher), Professor Syed Hasan (Professor and Head, Department of Persian, Patna University), Dr. Qeyamuddin Ahmad (Reader, Department of History, Patna University), and Dr. Motiur Rahman (Department of Urdu, Patna University). The last-named gentleman has also helped me in getting certain geographical points cleared. Indeed he has corrected some mistakes in my book (*e. g.*, concerning Darband, Tarbela, Lalitpur) and has supplied the exact location of Dubkund. These suggestions have been incorporated in the Index. Sanskrit materials wherever necessary were discussed with Professor Bechan Jha (Professor and Head, Department of Sanskrit, Patna University), Dr. Kashi Nath Mishra (Department of Sanskrit, Patna College), and Mr. Madhusudan Mishra (now residing at Delhi after return from West Germany). I am thankful to all these gentlemen for their kind help. The authorities

1. *DHNI*, I, p. 101.

of the following libraries and institutions gave me heartiest cooperation: Patna College Library, Patna University Library, Department of History (Patna University), Department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology (Patna University), Bihar Research Society, Khudabakhsh Khan's Oriental Public Library, Archaeological Survey of India (New Delhi) and National Archives of India (New Delhi). In the preparation of the Index I have received help from Dr. Rajendra Ram and Dr. Ram Lakhan Shukla and in the correction of proofs from Mr. Ayodhya Prasad Jha. I thank them all. The printing of the book was an expensive affair. It would not have been undertaken had Mr. Nagendra Narayan Sinha and Mr. Aswini Kumar Sinha, proprietors of the Vaishali Press, Patna, not come forward and given ample facilities. No words are adequate to express the extent of obligation to them. Mr. Parameshwar Singh, proprietor of the Lakshmi Pustakalaya, Patna, is another party that has stood by me in my times of difficulty. My heart-felt thanks to him. I also thank Professor Ram Sharan Sharma, Professor and Head, Department of History, Patna University, for granting a sum for the preparation of the press copy of the manuscript.

A word about the use of diacritical marks in this book. Although they have not been used here, this will not put the readers to any difficulty, because the correct pronunciation has been supplied in Devanagari characters within brackets either at the spot or in the Index. This is the method which is being adopted now-a-days by many authors and editors. A standard example is F. S. Drake (General Editor), *Symposium on Historical Archaeological and Linguistic Studies on Southern China, South-East Asia and the Hong Kong Region* (Hong Kong, 1967) giving the Chinese word in Roman and Chinese characters respectively followed by its English rendering within brackets where necessary.

The word India has been used throughout this work in its old pre-1946 sense. Similar is the case with the Punjab which is now comprised in four regions, *viz.*, West Punjab (under Pakistan Government), East Punjab (under Union of India Government) recently bifurcated into Punjab and Haryana (Punjabi and Hindi speaking States respectively), with some areas like the Kangra

Valley (which we have correctly stated as part of the Punjab, having been used in its old pre-1946 sense) recently merged into Himachal Pradesh.

While quoting the original text from Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, we have used Vishva Bandhu's edition. Generally Stein's English translation has been followed, but at some places we have preferred R. S. Pandit's translation which we found to be more literal and exact. References bearing canto no. and verse no. without any mention of the book should be treated as from the *Rajatarangini*.

The trasliteration system followed in this book will be clear from the following examples : Krishna (कृष्ण), Kachchhapaghata (कच्छपघात).

YOGENDRA MISHRA

ABBREVIATIONS

(1) BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

AGI	*The Ancient Geography of India* (*the Buddhist Period*) by Alexander Cunningham.
Alberuni	E. C. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., being English translation of Alberuni's Arabic work *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind.*
Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.	*Annual Report of Archaeological Survey of India.*
ARASI	Do.
ASR	*Archaeological Survey Reports* by Alexander Cunningham.
Attock District Gazetteer	*Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XXIX—A, *Attock District*, Part A (with Maps). Two editions published in 1909 and 1932 respectively.
Briggs	*History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till the Year A. D. 1612* in 4 Vols., being the English translation of Firishta's Persian work *Tarikh-i-Firishta* by John Briggs.
CCIMC	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith.
CHI	*Cambridge History of India.*
CMI	*Coins of Mediaeval India* by Alexander Cunningham.
Cunningham	Do.
C. V. Vaidya	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 3 Vols.
DHNI	*The Dynastic History of Northern India* (*Early Mediaeval Period*) by H. C. Ray, 2 Vols.
E. C. Sachau	E. C. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., being English translation of Alberuni's Arabic work *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind.*

EI	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Elliot	*The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians (The Muhammadan Period)*, edited from the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K. C. B., by Professor John Dowson, M. R. A. S. 8 Vols.
Encyclo. Brit.	*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*
Gardizi	*Kitab Zainul-Akhbar* (Persian) of Abu Said Abdul Hai b. ad-Dahhak b. Mahmud al-Gardizi (c. 440 A. H.). Ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
HMHI	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 3 Vols.
IA	*Indian Antiquary.*
IGI	*Imperial Gazetteer of India.*
IMC	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith.
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
KZA	*Kitab Zainul-Akhbar* (Persian) of Abu Said Abdul Hai b. ad-Dahhak b. Mahmud al-Gardizi (*c.* 404 A. H.). Ed. by Muhammad Nazim, Iranschahr, Berlin, 1928.
L. Gopal	*Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* by Lallanji Gopal.
Muhammad Nazim	*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* by Muhammad Nazim.
Nazim	Do.
NC	*The Numismatic Chronicle.*
Raj.	*Rajatarangini* (Sanskrit) by Kalhana.
R. S. Pandit	*River of Kings : Rajatarangini (The Saga of the Kings of Kashmir)* by Kalhana. Translated into English by Ranjit Sitaram Pandit.

Sachau	E. C. Sachau's *Alberuni's India*, 2 Vols., being English translation of Alberuni's Arabic work *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind*.
Smith	*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Vol. I*, by Vincent A. Smith.
Struggle	*The Struggle for Empire* being Vol. V of *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, published by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna	*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* by Muhammad Nazim.
TA	*Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Persian) of Nizamuddin Ahmad Bakhshi. Translated into English by B. De.
Tab. Nas.	*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Persian) of Minhajus Siraj Juzjani. Translated into English by H. G. Raverty.
TF	*Tarikh-i-Firishta* (Persian) of Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah Firishta. Translated into English by John Briggs in 4 Vols.
TKA	*Al-Tarikh ul-Kamil* (Arabic) of Ibn al-Asir. Also called *Al-Kamil fit-Tarikh*.
Vaidya	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C. V. Vaidya, 3 Vols.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*.

(2) NON-BIBLIOGRAPHICAL

Alig. edn.	Aligarh edition
b., born	born in
c., *cir.*, *ca.*	*circa*
comm.	commented, commented by, commentator
D	Daughter
d., died	died in
ed.	edited, edited by, editor, edition
edn.	edition
Eng. tr., Eng. trans.	English translation
esp.	especially
fl.	flourished
fn.	footnote
Intr.	Introduction
mod.	modern
n, n.	note, footnote
N. D., n. d.	No date
r., reigned	reigned during
S	Son
S.	Saka, Saka Era, Saka Samvat (शकसंवत्)
Skt.	Sanskrit
tr., trans.	translated, translated by, translator, translation
V. S.	Vikrama Samvat (विक्रम-संवत्)
W	Wife
wr.	written during, written by, writer

CONTENTS

			Pages
	Preface		iii-viii
	Abbreviations		ix-xii
I	Sources and Problems		1—8
II	Lalliya (Kallar), A. D. 865—895		9—39
III	Samanta (Samand) and Kamaluka-Toramana or Kamalavarman (Kamalu), A.D. 895—921		40—55
	(i) Toramana or Kamalavarman (Kamalu), A.D. 895	41—44	
	(ii) Samanta (Samand), A.D. 895—902	44—52	
	(iii) Kamaluka-Toramana or Kamalavarman (Kamalu) (Restored), A.D. 902—921	52—55	
IV	Bhima, A.D. 921—960		56—88
V	Jayapala, A.D. 960—1002		89—130
VI	Anandapala, A.D. 1002—1013		131—167
VII	Trilochanapala (Tarojanapala), A.D. 1013—1021		168—220
VIII	Bhimapala, A. D. 1021—1026		221—223
IX	The Dispersal of Sahi Population		224—234
	Appendix : A Recent Study of Sahi Coins		235—242
	Bibliography		243—255
	Index		256—277
	Corrections and Additions		278—280

CHRONOLOGY

1. Chronology of the reign of Sankaravarman of Kashmir 31—33
2. Chronology of Bhima Sahi, his daughter, her daughter Didda and Didda's relatives 60—61
3. Dates of the death of the four later Sahi kings 93
4. Chronology of the later Sahis 94
5. Reign-periods of the early Chandella kings 169
6. Probable birthdates of the members of the Takka and Saindhava families of the Punjab 178, fn. 3
7. Dates of various occupational periods at the excavation site of Hastinapura 193
8. Probable birthdates of the early Chandella kings 204, fn. 3

GENEALOGIES

1. Genealogy of Bhima : two branches of his dynasty 97
2. Genealogical tree of the Saindhava family 181
3. Genealogical tree of the Takka family 181
4. Genealogical table showing the relationship between the Sahis and King Harsha of Kashmir 234
5. Genealogical table showing the inter-relation among the Sahis of Gandhara, the Khasas of Lohara and the Parvaguptis and first and second Lohara dynasties of Kashmir 279

CHARTS AND LISTS

1. Coin-types of the Hindu Sahis in a tabular form 18
2. Single Indian letters on Hindu Sahi coins 22
3. List of Indian eras known to Alberuni whose founders are not mentioned 64
4. Chart showing the military strength of Vidyadhara Chandella as indicated by the Muslim authors 201, 280
5. MacDowall's Chronological Chart of Sahi Coins 241
6. List of Mahmud's Indian invasions with dates 266—267

स शाहिदेशः सामात्यः सभूभृत् सपरिच्छदः ।
किमभूत् किमु वा नाऽभूदिति संचिन्त्यतेऽधुना ।।

राजतरङ्गिणी, ७.६९

That Sahi kingdom with its kings, ministers and its court—now one asks oneself whether it ever was or was not.

Rajatarangini, VII. 69
(wr. A. D. 1149-50)

CHAPTER I

SOURCES AND PROBLEMS

I. Previous Work on the Subject

The nineteenth century saw some early studies on the subject of the history of the Hindu Sahi dynasty. This was done by four sets of writers, *viz.*, numismatists (*e.g.*, Thomas, Cunningham), translators of Muslim chronicles of India including Alberuni's *India* (*e. g.*, Elliot, Sachau), translators of the Sanskrit *Rajatarangini* (*e. g.*, M. A. Stein), and archaeologists or writers on monuments and other remains (*e. g.*, Cunningham). The last-named author was able to identify many kings and places connected with this dynasty. But he was not clear on some other points. Elliot and especially Stein were able to do better. It was reserved for the fifth set of writers, who wrote either on the Ghaznavids (*e. g.*, Mahmud) or on the early middle ages of India, to give a definite shape to the history of the Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab. Muhammad Habib and Muhammad Nazim wrote on Sultan Mahmud and the latter also wrote a valuable article on the Hindu Sahis of Ohind in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1927. Sir Wolseley Haig wrote on the Ghaznavids in the third volume of the *Cambridge History of India*. Writers on early medieval Indian history include C. V. Vaidya and H. C. Ray.[1]. R. C. Majumdar wrote a valuable article in September 1930 which was published in *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume* (1934). No distinct progress worth the name has been made in Sahi studies since 1935.

II. Sources

Sources for the history of the Hindu Sahi dynasty are of four kinds : inscriptions, coins, monuments, and literature.

1. For full details of authors and works cited above see the bibliography at the end of this book.

The inscriptions, which are in Sanskrit, are very few in number and belong to the reigns of Bhima and Jayapala which names are mentioned therein. Several copper and silver coins of the earlier part of the dynasty have been found and studied. They also contain names which have not been identified so far beyond controversy. There are some remains at Udabhandapura (mod. Ohind or Waihind) which was the capital of the dynasty for the major period of its existence; but they have not been studied in detail. Alberuni's *India* (wr. A. D. 1030) and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (wr. A. D. 1149-50) give us definite materials for the history of the dynasty which is called the Hindu Shahiya by the first (a contemporary author) and Sahi by the second. For the second part of the dynastic history we are fortunate in having many Muslim histories. One of them is written by Utbi, a court historian of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Two other histories from which we have taken much help are written by Nizamuddin Ahmad (a contemporary of Akbar, the third Mughal king) and Firishta who wrote his work in A. D. 1611. There are other good Muslim works which have been utilized by Muhammad Nazim[1] and H. C. Ray. We have been benefited by such references and have acknowledged our debt wherever considered necessary. A close study of the *Rajatarangini* made by us indicated that it provided more material than historians have considered it to contain for the history of North-West India. We have made use of such evidence at several places in this study.

III. Kings

Alberuni's *India* (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13) mentions the following kings of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty : Kallar, Samand, Kamalu, Bhima, Jayapala, Anandapala, Tarojanapala and Bhimapala. The list in our opinion is exhaustive.

1. For an exhaustive treatment of the Muslim sources for Sultan Mahmud (and hence for Hindu Shahiyas) see Nazim's biography of the Sultan. We have also taken advantage of the publication of a recent English translation of Isami's *Futuh-us-Salatin*, Vol. 1.

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* refers to the following kings of the Sahi dynasty: Lalliya Sahi (V. 155, 233), a rebellious Sahi (his proper name is not indicated) (V. 233), Kamaluka Toramana (V. 233), Bhima Sahi (V. 177-178, VII. 1081), and Trilochanapala Sahi (VII. 47-69). Jayapala and Anandapala are not mentioned at all. Bhimapala too is not mentioned obviously because Kalhana shows that after Trilochanapala's death the dynasty declined (VII. 66, 69). Kalhana refers to a Sahi chief, named Thakkana (VI. 230)[1], whom we regard as belonging to some branch dynasty ruling over a hilly region, because his name is not found in Alberuni's apparently exhaustive list and the imperial capital too is not indicated.

Coins provide some more names that are not found in Alberuni's list. Hence they are to be treated as epithets of the kings and not independent and separate proper names.

IV. Caste

Only one of our sources knows the Hindu Sahis as Brahmanas. And he is the famous Sanskritist Alberuni (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13), who being a contemporary of Jayapala, Anandapala, Trilochanapala and Bhimapala cannot be expected to be ignorant of the real situation. But the evidence against this is so vast that it cannot be ignored and rejected outright. According to this set of evidence which we now present in the following lines the Hindu Sahis were Kshatriyas or Rajputs.

Let us first take the clue from the available inscriptions of the Hindu Sahis. The name of Kala-Kamalavarman, father of Bhima as available in the Dewai Stone Inscription[2], shows that the dynasty was a Kshatriya one, because "the name of the father of Bhimadeva ends in *Varman*, a definitely Kshatriya title"[3]. Also[4], Bhima takes

1. All references given in this fashion without mentioning any book should be considered to be from the *Rajatarangini* throughout this work.
2. *EI*, 21, p. 299, text-line 1.
3. *Ibid.* (by Daya Ram Sahni).
4. This is our suggestion.

pride in being a warrior when he adopts the epithet *Gadahasta* (गदाहस्त) for himself in the same inscription. In another inscription of the same period which in our opinion is of Bhima[1] there is an expression *Arjuna iva prathitapratapah* (अर्जुन इव प्रथितप्रतापः) which refers to the king. Here also the king's being a good warrior is emphasised. There is no comparison with Parasurama and Drona who were celebrated Brahmana warriors of bygone ages, nor is there any reference to the scholarship of the Sahi king in the inscriptions. Had Bhima been a Brahmana, he would not probably have preferred to be compared with Arjuna, a veteran Kshatriya warrior of the Mahabharata age.

We now come to Kalhana and his *Rajatarangini*. Although a later source than Alberuni by 119 years, it has to be admitted that Kalhana was a permanent resident of Kashmir so close to the Sahi dominions, a great Sanskrit scholar, an admirer of the Sahis, and a contemporary of several scions of the former Sahi rulers. He clearly says (VIII. 3230) that there were a numberless host of Kshatriyas in his time who had the appellation Sahi and traced their origins to that royal family. Thus in the opinion of Kalhana the Hindu Sahis were the Kshatriyas. If we study the marriage connections of the Hindu Sahis with the ruling dynasties of Lohara and Kashmir, we clearly find that the Sahis were regarded as the Kshatriyas. Bhima Sahi's daughter was married to Simharaja of Lohara (VI.176-178), who was a Khasa chief (VI. 175). Bimba, a Sahi princess (Trilochanapala's daughter in our opinion) (VII. 103) had been married to Kandarpasimha, son of Tunga (VII. 73), a Khasa from Parnotsa (VI. 318). Rudrapala, a Sahi refugee in Kashmir, was married to Asamati, daughter of Induchandra, a king of Jalandhara (VII. 150-151), who is believed to be of Katoch dynasty. It may incidentally be mentioned that another daughter of the same Induchandra, Suryamati by name, was married to King Ananta (VII. 152), son of Sangramaraja, the founder of the first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir. Sangramaraja, being a descendant of Simharaja, was a Khasa. Harsha, the last king of the first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir, had

1. See the reign of Bhima for this discussion.

Vasantalekha (VII. 956, 1579) and other Sahi princesses (VII. 1470, 1550, 1571; VIII. 227, 546) as his wives. These must have been the daughters of Sahi refugees in Kashmir and the adjoining territories. It may be noted that Manu regards the Khasas as Vratya or low-grade Kshatriyas (X. 22) or even occupying a lower status (X. 44). Kalhana calls the Sahis Kshatriyas (VIII. 3230) and does not maintain any difference between the Turki Sahis (IV. 143) and the Hindu Sahis[1] by mentioning the supplanting of one dynasty by the other. Why was it so ? Was there any relation between the two Shahiya groups ? Hiuen Tsiang calls the king of Kapisa a Kshatriya. This king is usually believed to be a Turki Shahiya ruler. By not maintaining any difference between the two Shahiya groups and calling the Sahis Kshatriyas, Kalhana seems to agree with Hiuen Tsiang. This is also supported by the fact that the system of naming kings is also similar for which reason it is likely that the caste also might have been the same (that is, Kshatriya). The best example of this is provided by the name of the last Turki Shahiya king Lagaturman and that of the third Hindu Shahiya king, Kamaluka-Toramana or Kamalaka[2]-Toramana. The similarity between the two sets of names is obvious.

All Muslim sources except Alberuni regard the Hindu Sahis as Rajputs or Bhatti Rajputs. We have the evidence of at least three sources—Masudi, the author of *Adabul-Muluk*, and Firishta—on this point.

V. Territory

What was the territory over which the Hindu Sahi kings ruled at one time or the other ? This territory extended from Kabul to the Chenab river in the beginning. The kingdom of Lahore was annexed to it in A. D. 999. At a later stage we find Trilochanapala fighting against Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni on the left or eastern bank of the Rama-Ganga river from which it is reasonable to suppose that his suzerainty extended at least up to a few

1. Too many references.
2. See Vishva Bandhu's edition of the text for this variant reading.

miles east of the said river. We, however, concede that the territory of Trilochanapala at this stage was comparatively small and had more length than width. The area occupied by the Sahi kings at different times had thus been changing and gradually shifting to the eastern direction because of the formidable Turki menace from the west.

VI. Capitals

The earliest capital of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty, as Alberuni (Vol. II, p. 10) wants us to believe, was Kabul where this dynasty supplanted the Turki Shahiya dynasty that had ruled at Kabul for a considerable period. After its capture by Yaqub ibn Lais in A. D. 870-71 the Sahis moved to Udabhanda or Udabhandapura on the western bank of the Indus. This town is mentioned as the capital of Gandhara by Alberuni (tr. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 259). Kalhana also mentions this place as the capital of the early rulers of the dynasty, *viz.*, from Lalliya to Bhima (V. 153, 232; VII. 1081). That this continued to be the capital of the next king Jayapala is proved by Firishta (tr. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 9). Jayapala eventually lost this to Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1001-02.

The next capital of the Hindu Sahis was Nandana in the Salt Range near the Jhelum river. When Trilochanapala lost this in A. D. 1014, he made an eastern push. The last occasion when we meet him is the battle on the eastern bank of the Rama-Ganga river. Hence we may reasonably conclude that his capital lay somewhere in the East Punjab or the Doab. No suggestion with regard to it has so far been made by anybody. We have, however, ventured to offer a suggestion which may be seen at the relevant place.

Scholars have imagined several other places as the capitals of this dynasty at one time or the other, *e. g.*, Bhera, Bhatinda, and Lahore. R. C. Majumdar has smashed the theory of Bhatinda with great ability. Lahore seems to have been regarded as a capital [1] because of confusion. It might have been a provincial capital but not the capital of the dynasty which was Nandana up to A. D. 1014.

1. By Firishta.

We do not find any reference to Bhera as the dynastic capital in any of our sources.

VII. Chronology

The chronology of the Hindu Sahi kings has been quite uncertain until we come to the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in Muslim sources and his conflict with the Sahi kings. Thanks to Alberuni (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13), we know the dates of the death of Trilochanapala (which is A. H. 412=A. D. 1021-22) and of Bhimapala (which is five years later, that is, A. H. 417=A. D. 1026-27). Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* provides the following data for the chronology of the Sahi kings :

1. Lalliya Sahi (V. 152-155) has been shown as a contemporary of Sankaravarman of Kashmir (r. A. D. 883-902).

2. Sometime in the reign of Sankaravarman of Kashmir (probably in its second part) Lalliya died and was succeeded by a "rebellious" Sahi (V. 233). His personal name is not supplied by the Kashmir historian.

3. Prabhakaradeva, the minister and superintendent of the treasury of Sankaravarman's son, Gopalavarman of Kashmir (r. A. D. 902-904) vanquished the Sahi kingdom at Udabhandapura (V. 232), bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi upon Toramana, Lalliya's son, and gave him the new name Kamaluka (V. 233). As the event occurred during the reign of Gopalavarman, its date would fall somewhere between 902 and 904.

4. Bhima Sahi, who was the maternal grand-father of queen Didda (VI. 177-178), wife of King Kshemagupta of Kashmir (r. A. D. 950-958), ruled over the throne of Udabhandapura (VII. 1081) *at least* during 950-958. Also, the illustrious Sahi king built the high temple of Vishnu in Kashmir, called Bhima-Kesava (VI. 178, VII. 1082), sometime during the reign of Kshemagupta.

5. Yasodhara, the commander-in-chief of King Abhimanyu of Kashmir (r. A. D. 958-972) invaded and captured Thakkana, the Sahi chief (VI. 230) ruling over a mountainous area, by force (VI. 231). The date of this event lies somewhere between A. D. 958

and 962.[1] It may reasonably be supposed that this Kashmir invasion might have taken place after the death of Bhima Sahi of Udabhandapura.

6. Trilochanapala Sahi was helped by King Sangramaraja of Kashmir (r. A. D. 1003-1028) against the Turushka ruler Hammira (Amir Mahmud of Ghazni, r. A. D. 998-1030) (VII. 47-69). The Amir (VII. 53, 64) was successful against the Sahi king at the battle of the Taushi (VII. 53). Though the date of this battle is not indicated clearly, we know from the Muslim sources that this event took place in A. D. 1013-1014.

In the following chapters we shall take up the individual reigns of the Hindu Sahi kings. In the heading, first we shall give the Sanskrit name as it is available in the *Rajatarangini* or coins or inscriptions; this will be followed within brackets by the name as it is found in Alberuni. If no Arabo-Persian variants are available, the bracketed portions will be done away with.

1. By combining VI. 187-188 and 256-258.

CHAPTER II

LALLIYA (KALLAR)

A. D. 865–895

Alberuni's *India* (tr. Edward C. Sachau, II, pp. 10-14) gives a short account of the Turki Shahiya and Hindu Shahiya dynasties whose rulers were kings of the Hindus and were associated with Kabul. The early part of this may be summarised as follows, keeping as close to Alberuni's text as possible :

The rulers of Kabul, Purushavar (Peshawar) and adjoining countries up to A. H. 417 (A. D. 1026-27) have been divided by Alberuni into two parts, *viz.*, (i) the Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin and ruled under the title of Shahiyas of Kabul for about sixty generations, and (ii) the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of eight Brahmana kings.

Turki Shahiya Dynasty

The Turki Shahiya dynasty boasted of descent from Raja Kanishka of the Kushana dynasty. It was a Hinduised or Hindu dynasty and had become part of Hindu history. The pedigree of this royal family written on silk was said to exist in the fortress Nagarkot, but Alberuni was unable to make himself acquainted with it for various reasons, one of them being that the Hindus did not pay much attention to the historical order of things and were very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings. Consequently only three of the rulers are named by Alberuni in his account, *viz.*, the founder (Barhatakin by name), one intervening monarch (called Kanik), and the last King.

End of Turki Shahiya Rule : Kallar's Early Career and Accession

The last king of this Tibetan house was Lagaturman[1]. His vazir was Kallar whom Alberuni knows to be a Brahmana. The vazir had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence the king let his power by degrees slip from his hands. Besides, he had bad manners and a worse behaviour. Hence people complained of him greatly to the vazir. The ambitious, powerful and apparently popular vazir put him in chains, imprisoned him for correction and began to rule for him. The period of such rule is not indicated. The vazir himself found ruling sweet. His riches enabled him to carry out his plans. So ultimately he deposed Lagaturman, seized the royal throne, and became the founder of the Hindu Shahiya[2] dynasty.[3]

Identification of Kallar with Lalliya

In this usurper, who in the extant text of Alberuni is called Kallar, we have in all probability to recognise the Lalliya Sahi of the *Rajatarangini*[4]. Indeed, this identification has been suggested[5] (which we may strengthen further) on the following grounds[6] :—

1. Alberuni, II, 13. Elliot (Vol. II, Appendix, Note A, 'The Hindu Kings of Kabul') and Cunningham (*Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 55) prefer Kitorman.
2. The Shahiya of Alberuni is the Sahi (शाहि) of Kalhana and Sahi (साहि) of inscriptions.
3. The entire material so far is an adaptation from *Alberuni's India* (tr. Edward C. Sachau), Vol. II, pp. 10-13.
4. M. A. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, 'The Sahi of Udabhanda', p. 336.
5. Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. V, pp. 83-84) first suggested that Kallar of Alberuni was identical with Lalliya of Kalhana.
6. The numbering is ours. At certain points, especially in ground no. 2, we have slightly amplified the original arguments, *e.g.*, by supplying suitable and exact references. No. 5 incorporates our own suggestion.

1. There is no prince of the name of Lalliya on the list of Alberuni. He was a contemporary of Sankaravarman (A. D. ४४३-902) and was apparently dead in A. D. 902–904, when Gopalavarman was king of Kashmir. His son Kamaluka (the Kamalu of Alberuni's list) was a contemporary of Amr ibn Lais (*c.* 879-900 A.D.). As Alberuni's account is confirmed whenever we can check it, it is unlikely that he would omit the name of such an important prince as Lalliya[1].

2. Kalhana does not say anything about the family life of Lalliya Sahi (V. 155) of Udabhandapura (V. 153) when he refers to him for the first time. He subsequently (V. 233) mentions Lalliya as the father of Kamaluka. The latter prince is certainly identical with the Kamalu who, in Alberuni's list of the Hindu Shahiyas, appears as the ruler, next but one after Kallar. The 'Sahi' (आज्ञातिक्रमिण: शाहे: राज्यं, 'the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi', V. 233) of Udabhandapura (V. 232), whom Kalhana mentions in V. 233, without giving his name, as Kamaluka's predecessor, is probably the Samand (Skt. Samanta) who in Alberuni's list follows immediately after Kallar.[2]

3. The description, which the Kashmir Chronicle (V. 152-155) gives of Lalliya Sahi's great power and repute, agrees singularly with what Alberuni has to tell us of the energetic founder of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty.[3]

4. The proposed identification of Kallar with Lalliya finds further support in the convincing conjecture by which Prof. Ch. Seybold, in his remarks on *Alberuni's India* (*ZDMG*, 1894, Band 48, pp. 699-700), has explained the apparent difference of the names and accounts for such a corruption by well-known palaeographic peculiarities of Arabic manuscripts.[4] As a single MS. has preserved for us the text of the *India*, a misreading of this type is inescapable.

1. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 71.
2. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, 'The Sahi of Udabhanda', p. 336.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

5. If not a case of misreading, I have a lurking suspicion in my mind that Kallar may be a convenient contraction of some such word as Kala-Lalliya. This suspicion is based on the Dewai Stone Inscription[1] of Sahi Sri Bhimadeva which calls his (Bhima's) father Sri Kala-Kamalavarman. Probably Kamalavarman inherited this practice of prefixing *Kala* to his name from his illustrious father Lalliya. If so, the various stages of the contraction may be suggested as follows :—

Kala-Lalliya (कल-लल्लिय)
=Kala-Lala (कल-लल)
=Kala-Lara (कल-लर)[2]
=Kal-Lara (कल्-लर)
=Kallara (कल्लर)[3].

Beginning of a New Era

The Turki Sahi kings of Kabul are believed to be Buddhists, while the Hindu Sahi rulers were followers of Brahmanism. Hence it may be presumed that with the accession of Lalliya, which has been called the Brahmanical revolution by some scholars, started a new era in the history of the Kabul-Gandhara region. This was especially discernible in the realms of religion and coinage.

Foundation of a Town and a Temple at Kalar (Attock District)

Some[4] twelve miles east of the junction of the Soan with the Indus and about three miles due south of the village of Shah

1. *EI*, 21, p. 299. It is a small inscription of four lines.There is loss of one letter (*MA*) in the middle of the first line.
2. According to the well-known rule रलयोरभेदः (*RA* and *LA* are interchangeable).
3. The Sanskrit word closest to the Hindustani-looking Kallar is *Kahlara* (कह्लार) which means 'white lotus'. It may be noted that Kallar's son was variously called Kamala (Dewai Stone Inscription), Kamalu (Alberuni), and Kamaluka or Kamalaka (Kalhana). All mean 'lotus'.
4. The material from here onwards (till we say otherwise) has been adapted from the *Attock District Gazetteer*.

Muhammad Wali in the north-west corner of the district of Attock[1] is an old temple called Kalar or Sassi da Kallara, which has hitherto escaped notice. It is situated at a height of about 1,100 feet above sea-level, on the edge of a hillock rising steeply from the bank of one of the torrents, tributary to the Soan stream, which descend from the northern face of the Salt Range; it here passes through a rough tract of hillocks and ravines. The temple is in a ruinous condition, due largely to the gradual wearing away of the soft sandstone hillside on the edge of which it stands.

The temple is built of large bricks, two inches thick, varying in length from 15½ to 17 inches or more, and in breadth from 10 to 10½ inches. On the outer walls these bricks are elaborately carved in decorative designs of a simple character. There is now no sign of image or pedestal of any kind in the temple.

The temple faces due east, commanding a wide view in that direction as well as to the north. Immediately in front is the steep slope of the hill which has evidently lost much by erosion since the temple was built.

Close to the walls of the building was found a coin of Venka Deva, whose reign is placed by Cunningham in the last part of the eighth century A.D. [2]

The nearest existing village is that of Shah Muhammad Wali, three miles away; adjoining it is a low mound of some size, covered with broken pottery. This site called Kalri is certainly a very old one, and may have had some connection with the Kalar temple, but nothing has been found to show its date.

1. In the old Punjab Province, now in West Punjab, West Pakistan. This district was constituted on 1 April 1904, one tahsil being taken from Jhelum District and three other tahsils from Rawalpindi District (*Attock District Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., ed. C.C. Garbett, Lahore, 1932, p. 55).
2. This is what the District Gazetteer states. But Cunningham's ***Coins of Mediaeval India*** (p. 62) gives the dates of this king as A.D. 860 and 895.

Of the origin of these places nothing is known locally. Photographs of the temple were sent to Dr. M. A. Stein, who wrote back as follows : "In style the temple closely resembles two small shrines standing amidst the ruins of Amb, Shahpur District, but these are of a kind of tuffa stone. I do not think the details visible in the photographs permit a close dating, but seventh to ninth century of our era would probably be an approximate date. The large size of the bricks points to the earlier limit.* * * * It is evident from the general look of the structure that it was a Hindu temple. Closer examination of the cella might show whether it was dedicated to Siva or Vishnu".

On the materials available no more definite conclusion as to the date of the temple appears to be possible. Dr. Stein refers to the small shrines at Amb. In style of ornamentation, as well as in general arrangement, their resemblance to the Kalar temple is striking, and it can hardly be doubted that their date is approximately the same. There are three temples (one large and two small ones) at Amb, which lies about fifty miles due south of Kalar. Of these Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV, Calcutta, 1882, p. 34) writes as follows : "The temples are all of the Kashmirian style, but they are almost certainly of late date, as all the arches have cinquefoil instead of trefoil heads, which is the only form in Kashmir. I think, therefore, that their most probable date is from 800 to 950 A.D., during the rule of the Brahman dynasty of Kabul." (At Kalar there is no arch remaining.)

The temple also much resembles the four small temples at Kafir-Kot (almost sixty miles to the south-west in Dera Ismail Khan District, North-West Frontier Province) described in *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV, pp. 26-28.

Above we have given a brief account of the temple at Kalar on the basis of the *Attock District Gazetteer*[1], slightly retouching it

1. *Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol. XXIX-A, *Attock District*, Part A (with Maps), 1930, second edition, ed. C.C. Garbett, Lahore, 1932, pp. 322-324; first edition for 1907, ed. not mentioned, Lahore, 1909, pp. 31-33. Abbreviated by ourselves as *Attock District Gazetteer*.

with the help of Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, XIV. Before saying anything ourselves, we may quote Cunningham below from another source,[1] as this authority has made a serious effort "to account for the existence of a number of old Hindu temples in the Salt Range, which all belong to the Kashmirian style of architecture, with its fluted pillars and peculiar trefoil arches". He continues : "These temples are found at Amb, Mallot, Ketas, and Baghanwala. They are all Brahmanical buildings, and from their style alone they must be assigned to the most flourishing period of the Kashmirian rule or from about A. D. 65o tc 900. They appear to me to belong to the same age as the temples of Avanti Varmma, as they have the same style of pillars ornamented with spiral twists, with a superabundance of ornament about the trefoil arches, which betokens a late age. As Avanti Varmma's reign extended from A. D. 854 to 883, these temples of the Salt Range may be assigned with much probability to the latter half of the 9th century".

Judging from the opinions of competent authorities like A. Cunningham, M. A. Stein and C.C. Garbett and taking the common period into consideration, we find that the ninth century A.D. was a period of great Brahmanistic activity in Gandhara. Here we wish to hazard a conjecture that both the town and the temple at Kalar were founded by Kallar himself. Our reasons for this conjecture are as follows :—

1. The places (Kalar and Kalri) are so called after Kallar. This may not be a pure accident.

2. The temple is Brahmanistic. Kallar was also a follower of the Brahmanical cult unlike his predecessor, the Buddhist Lagaturman.

3 The date of the temple falls in the reign of Kallar.

4. The discovery of a coin of Venka Deva near the walls of the building points to the same thing.

5. The area in question was definitely under Kallar.

6. Not only Kalar, but the entire area of the Salt Range has antiquities belonging to the second half of the ninth century.

1. *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. V (Calcutta, 1875), pp. 84-85 (under 'Antiquities of the Salt Range').

7. It was in the Salt Range area that later on the Hindu Sahis found refuge at Nandana after they had lost Udabhanda as a capital.

Thus it appears that Kallar started religious activities in his dominions in various ways and at different places.

Religious Significance of Kalhana's Similes

Kalhana, while describing the contest between Sankaravarman of Kashmir and Lalliya Sahi of Udabhandapura (*Raj.*, V. 152-155), has used similes which in our opinion possess religious significance. Altogether there are four similes—three are clear-cut and direct, while the fourth is by implication. In these passages Lalliya Sahi, placed between the rulers of the Darads and Turushkas and refuge of weak and oppressed kings, has been compared with Aryavarta lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya mountains (V. 152), the great ocean where mountains took shelter for safety (V. 153), and the sun-disc (मार्तण्डस्येव मण्डलम्) which is so resplendent (V. 154). Further, he is called a 'possessor of Goddess of Fortune (Wealth)' (श्रीमान्) (V. 155) which, because of his role as the protector of several kings and of Alakhana, points to his comparison with Vishnu.[1] This may tend to indicate that Lalliya in his own time had acquired much respect and prestige in the domain of religion too; because can there be more sacred a place or region than Aryavarta (for a Hindu) which he is said to resemble ?

Reformation Movement in Hinduism

The reign of Lalliya synchronised with a period of great religious activity in Hinduism. It saw the growth and development of the Natha cult through the *sadhana* and preachings of Gorakshanatha (popularly called Gorakhnath) who is said by competent authorities to have flourished in the tenth century of the Vikrama era (*circa* A.D. 845-945, in round figures). His birthplace was Peshawar or Tila (Jhelum District, West Punjab).[2] As both these

1. Sriman (श्रीमान्) is one of the names of Vishnu in *Vishnu-sahasranamastotra*.
2. Some other places also claim this honour. But the majority of scholars are in favour of either of these places.

places were in the Sahi dominions, we may say that the Sahi kingdom must have been the scene of his early activity. Born in a Brahmana family, he was a Buddhist in the beginning, but turned to the Natha cult of Saivism later. He has rightly been regarded as the greatest figure after Sankaracharya (A. D. 788-820).[1]

Inauguration of a New Coinage: Problems of Sahi Coinage

The Hindu Sahis occupy an important place in the numismatic history of early India. "The type commonly known as the horseman and bull type originated with the Brahmana Shahi dynasty of Udabhandapura (Ohind), but was continued by some of the Rajput states, and also by the Ghaznavis and the Ghoris".[2] The new coinage was inaugurated in the very first reign by Lalliya. But the coinage of the Hindu Sahis is full of problems that have not yet been solved[3] :

1. For the date, birthplace, caste and estimate of Gorakhnath we have consulted the following works : Hazari Prasad Dvivedi, *Natha-Sampradaya*, second revised and enlarged edition, Varanasi, 1966 (esp. pp. 106-108); Rangeya Raghava, *Gorakhnath aur unka Yuga*, Delhi, 1963 (esp. pp. 43-57, 80); Pitambar Datta Badathwal (ed. & comm.), *Gorakh-Bani*, third edition, Allahabad, 1960. His association with the first Hindu Sahi king Lalliya is, however, our speculation. The date in round figures is also our suggestion.
2. Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* (Varanasi, 1966), p. 28.
3. V. A. Smith's opening lines of Section XIV 'The Hindu Kings of Ohind commonly called 'Kings of Kabul', from about 875 A.D. to 1000 A.D.') of his book *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I (Oxford, 1906), p. 243, are still true: "The coins of the princes commonly called the 'Hindu Kings of Kabul', although long familiar to numismatists, and extremely common in Afghanistan, the Punjab and throughout Northern India, present a puzzle, or rather a series of puzzles, which nobody has succeeded in solving completely".

1. There are no coins bearing the name Lalliya or Kallar, while those bearing the names of his three immediate successors (*viz.*, Samanta, Kamala and Bhima) are available.

2. Some royal names found on coins are not available in Alberuni's list or Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* or inscriptions. Such names are Spalapatideva, Vakkadeva and Padama. Some other names on coins though not actually available in these sources have some sort of phonetic similarity with these names which helps identification, *e.g.*, Khûdavayaka, Kamara, etc.

3. The most peculiar thing observed is that the coins bearing the name of Samantadeva are found in abundance and they were copied later on up to the thirteenth century (and in some areas even up to the seventeenth century). The name Samand (apparently Arabic form for Skt. Samanta) is available in Alberuni's list but not in the Kashmir Chronicle or the inscriptions. He was a usurper. Also, his reign was brief. Now the question arises : after all, how many coins could he issue during his brief reign that continued for such a long period and that are found in abundance ?

4. Single Indian letters are found on some coins.

5. On some coins of Spalapati and Samanta some numerals are indicated. They are of two varieties :

(i) On some coins of Spalapati occurs the symbol for 200 used in ancient Indian bocks, while

(ii) on some coins of Spalapati and Samanta figures ranging from 802 to 817 are found.

Coin-types of the Hindu Sahis with kings under each type are given below in a tabular form. The order of kings has been fixed by us keeping in view probable identification.

Horseman and bull	*Elephant and lion*	*Peacock and lion*	*Hamsa*
Spalapatideva			
Vakkadeva	Vakkadeva		
Samantadeva	Samantadeva		
Khudavayaka	Padama	Kamara	Kamaladeva
Bhimadeva			

Identification of Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta (Numismatic Epithets of Lalliya)

Who are Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta of the coins ?

We propose to solve the problem by suggesting the following course of events :

Kallar, the powerful and rich vazir of the last Turki Shahiya king Lagaturman, imprisoned his master, and himself occupied the throne. He was, however, clever. He thought that killing the king and assuming royal power in his own name would be an unwise act, because the Turki house had held the royal power for so long a period and had thus a legal claim ; the people might rebel and the whole plan might end in a fiasco. Hence, the Turki king was allowed to remain in prison till his death, and the vazir thought it prudent to rule over the dominions not as a full-fledged king but as a "war-lord" ("commander-in-chief") or "lord" or "feudatory". So he adopted epithets like Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta. Kallar did not issue coins in his name for fear of antagonising the people. Instead, coins in the name of Spalapati or Vakka or Samanta (some bearing dates) were issued in the Hindu Shahiya kingdom rather in abundance. Of these, coins bearing the name of Samantadeva were copied later on by several kings. After Kallar's death, the Sahi throne was occupied by a prince who was not Kallar's son. Hence he (the new ruler) too preferred to call himself a feudatory (*samanta*). Or, if he had been installed as a king with the help of some other power, he might have liked to please it by calling himself so. This prince also issued coins in the name of Samanta. Hence much confusion was created with regard to the coins bearing the name Samantadeva. The problem of the abundance of Samanta coins and their later copying can be solved only by this supposition.

Thomas[1] and Cunningham[2] identify Kallar with the Spalapatideva of the coins, though Smith[3] does not find conclusive evidence to support this hypothesis. Cunningham[4] says that the true name is

1. *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 180.
2. *ASR*, V, p. 83; *CMI*, p. 58.
3. *CCIMC*, p. 244.
4. *CMI*, p. 58.

Spalapati (and not *Syalapati*) which was the actual title of the *war minister* in Persia, Parthia, Hyrkania, and Armenia. He therefore takes *Kallar* to have been the name, and *Spalapati* the designation by which he was usually known[1]. In Persian and Armenian the military commanders are usually spoken of by this title, and not by their actual names. The title is not foreign to India, as it is only the Sanskrit *Samara-pati*, or "war-lord", that is, the "commander-in-chief". Another practical reason of this identification is that the name of Lalliya or Kallar is not found on coins. Hence somebody with coins among the Hindu Sahi kings has to be identified with him, because he was the founder of the dynasty, was an important king in the region as indicated by Alberuni and Kalhana, had a long reign, and his coins are found in abundance in the area[2].

The identification of Vakkadeva has so far defied any solution. But considering the peculiar circumstances obtaining in the period, we feel inclined to identify him with Kallar, because according to H. Humbach[3] Vakka may be connected with the Bactrian title *bago*,

1. Cunningham says in *ASR*, V, p. 83 : "I would take Kallar as his true name, and Syala-pati as the title, which he assumed on ascending the throne".
2. Speaking of Sahri-Bahlol (formerly in Peshawar District, now in Mardan District since 1937, North-West Frontier Province), Cunningham (*ASR*, V, p. 45) says : "The numismatic evidence, however, [of the former existence of Brahmanism in the Yusufzai district] is very abundant in the number of silver and copper coins of Syalapati Deva and Samanta Deva, bearing the bull of Siva, which are constantly being found, and which are procurable in every bazar in the country." D. C. Sircar (*Indian Coins*, pp. 306-07) refers to some coins of Spalapatideva and Samantadeva in the Kandahar Museum collection and one copper issue of the former king at Gulbahar (also in Afghanistan) in a local factory collection.
3. 'The Iranian tradition of the Hindu Shahis of Udabhandapura' to be published in the Central Asia Number of *Bharati* (*Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University*), X, 1966-67. Quoted by L. Gopal in his *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 29.

pronounced vago and meaning lord. Also, generally scholars are in favour of putting Vakka (or Venka) rather early. The discovery of a coin of this king close to the walls of an ancient temple at Kalar (in the Attock district)[1], which in our opinion was founded by Kallar, simply strengthens our stand.

Smith[2] is of the view that both Spalapati and Samanta being titles and not personal names were used by Lalliya-Kallar. He adduces the following arguments for this[3] :—

1. "Cunningham seems to have sufficient reason for interpreting *Spalapati* as a Sanskritized form of a Persian title meaning 'military commander'. Samanta has the same signification in Sanskrit, and a doubt is thus suggested as to how far these names on the coins should be interpreted as being personal·····[Thus,] as remarked above, the words *Samanta* and *Spalapati* having the same meaning, may both refer to a single person."

2. "The matter is further complicated by the continued use of *Samanta* as a title on both Indian and Muhammadan coins long after the time of Alberuni's Samand."

3. "The fact that the same dates, if they are dates, occur on the coins of both Samanta-deva and Spalapati supports the suggestion that both those titles may have been used by one king, the Kallar of Alberuni, and the Lalliya of the Kashmir chronicle."

Smith[4] offers a hypothesis for explaining this situation : "Possibly the difficulty may be explained by the hypothesis that the coins with the Persian title were struck at mints situated in the territory west of the Indus, which formerly was included in the Persian empire, while those with the Sanskrit title were issued in the Panjab. The evidence concerning the *provenance* of the coins is not sufficiently precise to enable this conjecture to be tested."

Thus we feel that all the coins of Spalapati and Vakka (or Venka) and many (or most) of those of Samanta belong to Lalliya-

1. *Attock District Gazetteer*, 2nd ed., p. 323; 1st ed., p. 33.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.
3. Which have been properly placed and numbered by us.
4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 245-246.

Kallar. This hypothesis solves many of the problems of Sahi history.

Single Indian Letters on Sahi Coins

Single Indian letters are found on some coins of the Hindu Sahis. The catalogues of (i) Cunningham (pp. 63-65) and (ii) Smith (pp. 246-249) contain the following letters arranged ruler-wise :—

1. Spalapatideva—(i) A, Gu, K.
   (ii) Gra (ग्र).
2. Venkadeva— (i) D, Pi, R, V.
3. Samantadeva— (i) Bhi.
   (ii) Bhi (भी), Tri (त्र).
4. Khamarayaka— (i) A, K, Bhi, M.
5. Khudavayaka— (ii) ? Pa (प्) or Pu.
6. Bhimadeva— (i) N.

These letters are unexplained. Only one suggestion has so far been made. Cunningham (p. 63) says that these letters are "perhaps the initials of Mint cities". In one case he has himself suggested (p. 64) that Bhi might stand "perhaps for Bhira".[1] Eight other mint cities which we venture to suggest (from west to east) were Kabul, Nagarahara, Pushkalavati, Purushapura, Ohind[2] (Udabhandapura), Nagarkot, Kalar and Nandana. Were the Sahis constantly changing their places of minting because of the Turki menace ?

Figures 802 to 817 on Sahi Coins

Certain coins of Spalapati and Samantadeva exhibit on the horseman side figures 'written in numerals of a form intermediate between those of the medieval Indian mints and the modern Arabic forms..... graduating into the latter'. They are read as 802, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, and 817 (Pl. XXVI in Smith). Smith[3]

1. Cunningham (*AGI*, p. 130) : "The modern town of *Bhira*, or Bheda, is situated on the left, or eastern, bank of the Jhelam; but on the opposite bank of the river, near Ahmedabad, there is a very extensive mound of ruins, called *Old Bhira*, or *Jobnathnagar*, the city of Raja *Jobnath*, or *Chobnath*."
2. Note that A+U=O. Hence we have given the form Ohind.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

rightly believes "that they must be interpreted as dates expressed in the Saka era, equivalent to years ranging from 880 to 895 A.D." We fail to understand why Lallanji Gopal[1] should feel that "Nothing positive can be made of the figures which Smith prefers to interpret as dates." On the other hand, we are of the view that these figures (802 to 817) and certain marks of which we speak just now will help us immensely in reconstructing the history of North-West India.

Commemoration of an Event in the Year 200 of an Unspecified Era

Smith[2] has pointed out that certain marks on some coins of Spalapati (Catalogue Nos. 2, 6) look like the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200. He has also compared and verified it from *Bower Ms.*, in Buhler, *Indian Palaeography*, Pl. IX. But he has not made any specific suggestion with regard to it. I venture to make one in the following lines.

In Smith's Catalogue there are two coins (Nos. 2, 6) that bear the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200. These coins have numerals on margins which are as follows[3] :—

No. 2 811=A.D. 889.

No. 6 ? 812 or 814=A.D. 890 or 892.

Thus the coins have the symbol for 200 but contain different dates ranging from S. 811 to 814=A.D. 889 to 892. Hence the symbol for 200 is either for decoration or it stands for some commemorative event that took place in that year (200) of an unspecified era. We prefer the second alternative.

Now the question is : What is the era in which the date has been expressed ? Evidently, the date has to fall between *c.* A.D. 850 (Elliot's proposed date[4] for the accession of Lalliya-Kallar) and

1. *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 31.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 245, fn. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-247. Rendering into Christian years is ours.
4. Elliot, Vol. II, Alig. edn., p. 425. H.C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, p. 76) seems to concur with this view. For our view which is somewhat different see the end of this chapter.

A.D. 889 (=S. 811, the earliest known date of Spalapati mentioned with the symbol for 200). Thus the year 200 should belong to an era that started sometime between A.D. 650 and A.D. 689. Fortunately, we have one such era that started in A.D. 665. This is No. 5 in Alberuni's list of the Indian eras (tr. Sachau, II, p. 7) called 'the era of the canon *Khandakhadyaka*', also known as 'the era of the astronomers' (*ibid.*). Says Alberuni (*ibid.*) : "*The era of the astronomers* begins 587 years later than the Sakakala. On this era is based the canon *Khandakhadyaka* by Brahmagupta, which among the Muhammadans is known as *Al-arkand*". Elsewhere (II, p. 46) he says : "First, we mention the rule of the *Khandakhadyaka*, because *this calendar is the best known of all, and preferred by the astronomers to all others*" (*italics* ours). Thus Spalapati or Lalliya was using the most important eras of his time, *viz.*, the Saka era and the era of the astronomers.

The date expressed by the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200 thus comes to A.D. 865 or, more exactly, A.D. 865-66.

What was the event that was sought to be commemorated by the mention of the date A.D. 865-66 on these silver[1] coins ?

We suggest that this event was the imprisonment of Lagaturman and the full-fledged coronation of Lalliya at Kabul. This must have been treated as the Independence Day of the Hindu Sahis, celebrated properly at the time and commemorated later on through coinage.

Coming to Lalliya Sahi's political relations with contemporary powers, we shall follow the order in which Kalhana mentions them in his Kashmir Chronicle (V. 152-155) while describing the contest between Sankaravarman and the Sahi king.

Inimical Darads of North

Kalhana (V. 152) refers to the position of Lalliya in a way which shows that the Darads or Daradas, who were neighbours of both Kashmir (I. 312) and the Sahis (V. 152), were inimical to the latter : "the illustrious Lalliya Sahi—who, [placed] between the rulers of the Darads and Turushkas as between a lion and a boar, resembled

1. The Hindu Sahis coined silver and copper only, no gold.

Aryavarta [as it lies] between the Himalaya and Vindhya [mountains]". If the dominions of Lalliya Sahi extended equally far to the north, they must have bordered on the territories held to this day by the Dard tribes inhabiting Kohistan on the Upper Indus, Chilas and Chitral. [1]

Turushka (Muslim) Conquest of Kabul (A. D. 870-71)

Lalliya could not keep Kabul under his control for a long time. It was conquered by Yaqub ibn Lais, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty,[2] in A. H. 256 (Nov. 870-Nov. 871). Yaqub ibn Lais had already taken possession of Sijistan and Herat in *c.* A. H. 253 (A.D. 867-68)[3] and Zabul three years later, the last from Rajput or Kshatriya kings probably Bhattis[4]. Thus strengthened, he conquered Kabul and its citadel. The Hindu Sahis could not dislodge the conquerors from the citadel of Kabul which from that day remained in the possession of the Muhammadans[5]. This Muhammadan conquest appears to have been more durable than the preceding ones, for we find coins of Yaqub struck at Panjshir[6], to the north-east of Kabul, in the years A. H. 260 and 261 (A. D. 874-75 and 875-76 respectively). The Sahis still retained possession of the town of Kabul; the surrounding country was also in their possession[7]. For understanding the history of the region for several decades in future, the nice distinction of the tenure of the castle by the Muhammadans while the Hindus still occupied the town[8], should not be lost sight of.

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1. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol II, Note J, p. 338.
2. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 112 (also see p. 126).
3. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 70.
4. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol.III, p. 10.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 19.
6. Elliot, II (Alig. edn.), pp. 419-420. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 57.
7. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
8. Thomas, *JRAS*, 1848, p. 284, fn.

Transfer of the Capital to Udabhandapura (A. D. 870-71)

The Muhammadans, whom Kalhana (V. 152) calls Turushkas, presented a serious problem to Lalliya. They had obtained possession of Kabul in A. D. 870-71 and must thus have been menacing the remainder of the Sahi dominion in the Kabul Valley directly from the west.[1] Against this irresistible pressure of the Arabs, the Sahis were gradually driven towards the Indian frontier. Hence they transferred their capital to Udabhandapura[2] on the right or west bank of the Indus, fifteen miles above Attock,[3] in Mardan[4] District of North-West Frontier Province. This was an ideal site for a capital in the changed circumstances. It was in the centre of the now truncated kingdom, situated on the Indus river, and had the glory of being the old capital of Kia-pi-shi.

Emphasising the importance of this place which is opposite to the Chhachh plain of the Attock district, the compiler of the *Attock District Gazetteer*[5] says : "Und, the ancient *Udabhandapura*, was, for centuries before the Muhammadan conquest, the winter capital of the kingdom comprising both Kabul and the Peshawar Valley, and was designated by the early Muslim invaders of India the 'Gate of India' (*Duar-i-Hind*)". Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid also speaks of "Hund, which was the winter capital of the Hindushahiya dynasty"[6] in his opinion.

But what was the summer capital of the Hindu Shahiya king ? The learned Lieut. Colonel says that it was "Lahore which was his summer capital, and this lay.....in the Swabi Tehsil of the

1. M. A. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, p. 339.
2. C. V. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 20. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 74. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 112.
3. Attock lies on the left or east bank of the Indus.
4. Formerly an important tahsil of the district of Peshawar. Constituted into a separate district in 1937 (S. M. Jaffar, *Peshawar : Past and Present*, 1945, p. 34).
5. Second edition, Lahore, 1932, p. 35.
6. Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid, 'Combined Operations at Hund by Mahmud of Ghazna', *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, fifth session, Khairpur, 1955 (Karachi, 1958), p. 131.

Mardan district of the NWFP. This is the Al Lahawar of Al Beruni, which is the real Lahore of ancient historians. It is not the Lahore of the Punjab, as most of the early and contemporary historians have thought"[1]. It may be added that this Lahore, which is only four miles away from Udabhandapura (Und or Hund), is the same place as Salatura (शलातुर), the birthplace of Panini, the celebrated Indian grammarian of the fourth century B. C., that had been visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century A. D. The place was discovered and identified by Cunningham[2].

Refuge of Frightened Princes

One important aspect of the political career of Lalliya Sahi, that has unfortunately remained obscure, is thus stated by Kalhana (V. 153-154) : "in whose town of Udabhanda [other] kings found safety, just as the mountains in the ocean when threatened by the danger of having their wings cut [by Indra]; whose mighty glory [outshone] the kings in the North, just as the sun-disc [outshines] the stars in heaven". We do not know who these kings were[3] and what status they had at the court of Udabhandapura. But it certainly shows that Lalliya enjoyed enough prestige in his time which the Kashmir historian did not fail to record.

Struggle for Mastery over the Punjab

A fierce struggle for supremacy over the Land of the Five Rivers and its adjoining areas was going on in the second half of the ninth century A.D. The contending powers were :

(1) the Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj (Mihira Bhoja 836—885, succeeded by Mahendrapala I 885—910),

(2) the Gurjara king (*Gurjarabhubhuj*, V. 149 ; *Gurjaradhipa*, V. 150) Alakhana,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
2. *ASR*, Vol. II, p. 95; *AGI*, p. 49.
3. Does the passage (V. 153, निर्भया नृपाः) refer to the princes frightened by Sankaravarman (V. 148, त्रस्ता नृपाः) because the latter and Lalliya Sahi were enemies ? Also, Sankaravarman has been compared with Indra (V. 158).

(3) Lalliya Sahi of Eastern Afghanistan, North-West Frontier Region and the Western Punjab,

(4) the Utpalas of Kashmir (Avantivarman 855/6—883, succeeded by Sankaravarman 883—902), and

(5) the Turushkas or Muslims of Multan.

All these had their territories in some part or the other of the Punjab.

The Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj were penetrating into the Punjab from the east as the Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription[1] of Mihira Bhoja of the year 276 of the Harsha era (=A.D. 882/83), the Sirsa (Hissar district) stone inscription[2] of the time of Bhojadeva, a passage in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (V. 151) about *samrajya-harana* by Bhoja Adhiraja (हृतं भोजाधिराजेन साम्राज्यं), and another Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription[3] belonging to Mahendrapala I testify. R. S. Tripathi opines that the kingdom of Kanauj under Bhoja "may be roughly defined as limited by the Satlej in the north-west" and "the foot of the Himalayas in the north".[4] Alakhana's territory of Gurjara, the name of which is preserved in those of Gujrat and Gujranwala (towns and districts in the West Punjab, the river Chenab flowing between these two districts), comprised the upper portion of the flat Doab between the Jehlam (Jhelum) and Chenab rivers (south of Darvabhisara) to the foot of the Bhimbhar hills, and probably also a part of the Punjab plain further east.[5] It also originally included Takka-desa (V. 150) by which designation a tract adjoining the lower hills east of the Chenab is probably meant.[6] The epithets *Gurjarabhubhuj* (V. 149) and *Gurjaradhipa* (V. 150)

1. *EI*, *1*, pp. 184-190.
2. *Ibid.*, 21, pp. 294-296.
3. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. 242-250.
4. *History of Kanauj*, p. 246.
5. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 99; also note on V. 143-144.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 99; also note on V. 150.

probably indicate that Alakhana was a 'Gurjara' king ruling over the Punjab settlement of the 'Gurjaras'.[1] Being of the same extraction, well-known for their hostility towards the Arabs (Muslims), and facing a common enemy in Kashmir[2], the two Gurjara kings, it is reasonable to suppose, were on terms of friendship with each other.[3] This fact of their coming together, taken together with the well-known hostility of the Gurjara and Sahi kings towards the Arabs[4], and Alakhana's alliance with Lalliya Sahi (V.155)[5] may indicate some sort of *entente cordiale* between these powers for joint action against their common enemies.[6]

The second group of powers is constituted by these common enemies, *viz.*, Kashmir monarchy and the Arabs or the Muslims. Their mutual relation is not known.

Relations with Avantivarman of Kashmir

Although no indications are available over this point in our sources, we may hazard some reasonable conjectures.

It seems Lalliya-Kallar got no help from Avantivarman (855/6-883 A. D.), king of Kashmir, against the Arabs or Turushkas when Kabul had been wrested from him in A. D. 870-71. There may have been certain reasons behind this policy of the Kashmir king:

1. Avantivarman was the founder of a new house, that of the Utpalas. Hence he had his own problems at home.

2. He was a king of peaceful disposition and constructive genius. He devoted his entire energy to this purpose.

3. The Arabs were very powerful. Hence it was not considered wise to help the Hindu Sahis against the Muslim Arabs.

1. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 74, fn. 5.
2. The placing of these arguments (suggested by H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, pp. 74-75) is ours.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
5. This has been added here by ourselves.
6. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 75. We may even call it a triple alliance.

The *Rajatarangini* (V. 151) refers to Bhoja Adhiraja's wresting of some dominions from the Kashmir king (evidently Avantivarman on account of their contemporaneity and not his son Sankaravarman). We feel tempted to suggest that in this endeavour Bhoja Adhiraja of Kanauj (A. D. 836-885) must have got help from the Sahi king.

One of the last acts of Avantivarman[1] was marrying his son Sankaravarman to "Sugandha, the daughter of the illustrious Svamiraja, the ruler of the northern region" (श्रोत्स्वामिराजस्य उदक्पथप्रभोः) (V. 157)[2]. Svamiraja may be supposed to have been a ruler in the Dard territory or in some neighbouring tract.[3] Viewed in this light, this matrimonial alliance becomes important, because both the king of Kashmir and the chief of the north[4] were the enemies of the Sahi kingdom.

Relations with Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj

It has been suggested[5] that Kallar or Lalliya Sahi "was possibly supported by Mihira Bhoja" (A. D. 836-885) in his overthrowing Lagaturman, the last Turki Shahiya king of Kabul.

As stated just before, we feel that in his north-west compaign against the Kashmir king (Avantivarman), Mihira Bhoja must have been helped by Lalliya-Kallar.

Relations with Alakhana of Gurjara

We are on firmer ground in relation to Alakhana, the king of the Gurjara country in the Punjab.

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1. Or one of the first acts of Sankaravarman.
2. The text refers to the marriage only. The suggestion about the fixing of the approximate date (*c.* A. D. 883) is ours. Avantivarman died on 11 June 883 A. D. (V. 126). The date of the birth of Sugandha's son Gopalavarman according to our calculation is A. D. 884. He passed away on 10 February 904 A. D. and had a posthumous child that died after its birth (V. 247).
3. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I. note on V. 157.
4. The enmity of the Darads (V. 152) has already been referred to.
5. K. M. Munshi in his Foreword to *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. xi.

Lalliya had intimate and friendly relations with Alakhana and was well-known as Alakhana's support (V. 155). However, it appears, the Sahi king could not save him from the wrath of the new Kashmir king, Sankaravarman (A. D. 883—902), son of Avantivarman, who, wholly bent on the conquest of Gurjara (V. 144), defeated Alakhana and took away Takka-desa from him (V. 149-150). It may, however, be noted that towards the end of the ninth century the power of the once extensive Takka-desa had been considerably reduced, as in the *Rajatarangini* (V. 150) this term is evidently used in a far more restricted sense than Hiuen Tsiang's powerful 'kingdom of Tseh-kia'.[1]

Relations with Sankaravarman of Kashmir

After making a close study of the career of Sankaravarman (V. 127—227, 471 ; VII. 68-69, 82 ; VIII. 1953, 2488, 3130, 3430) and the geography of his conquests (V. 136—156, 214—224) we propose the following chronology for his reign :

A. D. 883—887[2] : Civil War and preparations for world conquest (*digvijaya*).

A. D. 887—892[3] : *Digvijaya* : first phase : south and south-east of Srinagar. Invasion of the following with varying results :

(i) Darvabhisara[4],

1. M.A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on V. 150 (slightly retouched by ourselves).
2. Suggested by R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 251. Other chronological limits have been fixed by ourselves and Sankaravarman's death.
3. *Cf.* Una (Junagadh, Kathiawad) copper-plate inscription (No. 1) of Mahendrapala I of A. D. 893 (*EI*, 9, pp 1-6).
4. It designates the territory of the lower hills stretching between the Vitasta and the Chenab to the north of Gurjara or Gujrat and includes Bhimbhar which lies about 28 miles due north of the town of Gujrat (West Punjab, West Pakistan).

region between the upper waters of the Chenab and the Ravi,[1] "preserving his own country" (V. 150). The Gurjara lord was no doubt saved from a more serious defeat by the support of Lalliya Sahi.

Kalhana makes it quite clear that Sankaravarman could not make much headway against the Sahis. His statement that the illustrious Lalliya Sahi, "whose mighty glory outshone the kings of the north," was not received into service by Sankaravarman because the latter desired to remove him from his sovereign position, is only a politic way of saying that his efforts were fruitless.[2] We may infer from these guarded expressions that the expedition of the Kashmir ruler was in this direction not attended by any marked results.[3] By reversing Lalitaditya's policy of friendship towards the Sahis, Sankaravarman only made the task of the defence of the Indian frontier against Islam all the more difficult.[4]

Chronology

We do not know the exact date of Lalliya's seizure of power. As a matter of fact, there has been no serious effort at it. We suggest A. D. 865 and offer the following grounds :—

1. If the figures found on the coins of Spalapatideva (=Lalliya) are interpreted as dates expressed in the Saka era, the figures 802 to 817 that are found there represent the dates A. D. 880 to 895.

2. An analysis of the relevant passages in the *Rajatarangini* (V. 151-155) and the early inscriptions of Mahendrapala I Pratihara shows that Lalliya, the enemy of Sankaravarman (A. D. 883-902) of Kashmir, was certainly alive about A. D. 890-892, the probable period of the encounter between him and the Kashmir king.

1. Takka-desa has been identified with the *Tseh-kia* of Hiuen Tsiang, the capital of which was close to the old city of She-kie-lo (Sakala=Sialkot).
2. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
3. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note J, p. 339.
4. H. C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

3. As Edward Thomas suggests, Alberuni's mention of Kabul as being the residence of the Turk and subsequently of the Brahmana kings would appear to indicate that the Brahmanas as well as the Turks once possessed it.[1] Hence we feel that, in order to justify Alberuni's remark, at least the first of the Hindu Shahiyas should possess it even though for a short period of five to six years.

4. Mihira Bhoja's increasing contact with the Western Doab and the Punjab is seen from 865 onwards and not before this. The two dated inscriptions of this area are: (i) Ahar (Bulandshahr district) stone inscription of Harsha Era 259 (=A. D. 865),[2] (ii) Pehoa (Karnal district) stone inscription of Harsha Era 276 (=A. D. 882)[3]. This may not be without significance.

5. Certain marks on some coins of Spalapati (=Lalliya) look like the old Indian 'numerical symbol' for 200. We have earlier shown that this figure (200) may represent the date A. D. 865 (or 865-66) which may have been the date of his accession.

6. The Ghosrawan (Patna district) rock inscription[4] of Sramana Viradeva of the reign of Devapala, also known as Viradeva-prasasti, has a perfectly Buddhistic atmosphere in it. Viradeva originally belonged to Nagarahara (mod. Jalalabad in Afghanistan). His father, Indragupta by name, has been called a twice-born (*Dvijatih*, द्विजातिः), sprung in a highly noble family, an excellent Brahmana (*Dvijavarah*, द्विजवरः) and, what is more important in the present context, a friend of the monarch (*rajasakhah*, राजसखः). This monarch was not the Brahmanist Lalliya, but probably

1. *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 287.
2. *EI*, 19, pp. 52-62. *Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Vol. 3, Part II (September 1926), pp. 82-119. Also noticed in *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1923-24, p. 97.
3. *EI*, 1, pp. 184-190.
4. *JASB*, Vol. 17, Part I, 1848, pp. 492-501. *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 17, 1888, pp. 307-312 (ed. Kielhorn). *Gaudalekhamala*, pp. 46-50. Also available in *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1967), pp. 131-141.

the Buddhist Lagaturman at whose court Indragupta seems to have wielded much influence. Also, Viradeva studied under *acharya* Sarvajnasanti of Kanishka Mahavihara which is shown as a flourishing Buddhist institution. Furthermore, there is no reference in the inscription to Lalliya's religious persecution of Buddhists which might have prompted Viradeva to leave his native country. He did so because from the very childhood he had a great desire to follow the path of Sugata by renunciation. The discoveries and researches of J. G. de Casparis indicate that "the most liikely date for the Nalanda copper-plate would be between about 860 and 870 A. D."[1] This inscription was issued in the 39th year of the reign of Devapala. Thus Devapala, who is believed to have reigned for 40 years, came to the throne sometimc between 821 and 831 A. D. The Nilgund[2] and Sirur[3] stone inscriptions of the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, both belonging to S. 788 (=A. D. 866-67), state that the rulers of Anga, Vanga and Magadha worshipped him. Thus Devapala was evidently dead at that time. Hence in our opinion Devapala ruled from 825 to 865 A. D. As indicated earlier, his royal contemporary on the Kabul throne was the Buddhist Lagaturman and not the Brahmanist Lalliya.

7. Kalhana does not mention Lalliya under the reign of Avantivarman (855/6-883). He is referred to under his son Sankaravarman (883-902). Thus it may safely be presumed that Lalliya was a junior contemporary of Avantivarman.

8. Let us take two generations into consideration in a particular manner—from the birth of the person to the birth of his grandson—and see what happens. We have dates of Mughal kings for several generations for our help and guidance :

1. *Prasasti Indonesia*, Vol. II (*Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A. D.*) (Masa Baru, Bandung, 1956), p. 297. Also see p. 260 : ".....we have a strong argument to date the Nalanda inscription only a few years after 856 or about 860 A. D. *Possibly later*". (*Italics* under footnote no. 75.)
2. *EI*, Vol. 6, p. 103, line 8.
3. *EI*, Vol. 7, pp. 202 ff.; *IA*, Vol. 12, p. 218, line 6.

Babar to Akbar	:	59 years
Humayun to Jahangir	:	61 years
Akbar to Shahjahan	:	50 years
Jahangir to Aurangzeb	:	49 years

The figure varies from 49 to 61. Thus we may safely keep 52 for our purposes. We have later suggested 892 as the birthdate of Bhima on quite independent grounds. Thus 892−52=840 indicates the birthdate of Lalliya. This favours 865 as the date of Lalliya's accession and not 850 that had been suggested by Elliot[1] long ago and accepted by H. C. Ray.[2]

9. Let us take three complete generations (from the birth of the person to the death of his grandson) into consideration and see what happens. These are the examples from Mughal history :

Babar to Akbar	:	122 years
Humayun to Jahangir	:	119 years
Akbar to Shahjahan	:	124 years
Jahangir to Aurangzeb	:	138 years
Shahjahan to Bahadurshah	:	120 years

Some known cases from Hindu history are :

Bimbisara to Udayin	:	115 years
Chandragupta[3] to Asoka	:	118 years
Samudragupta[4] to Kumaragupta I	:	145 years

Discarding unusually high figures like 145 and 138, we find that the number 120 fits in best and almost all figures are close to it. Hence we accept this figure as indicative of the difference in years between the birth of Lalliya and the death of his grandson Bhima.

1. Vol. II, p. 425.
2. *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 76.
3. Treating him as a junior contemporary of Alexander the Great (356-323 B. C.) by six years.
4. Born in A. D. 310. See Shri Ram Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, pp. 109-110: ".....his [Samudragupta's] birth must have taken place not later than the latter half of the first decade of the fourth century A.D."

The date of the latter event has been fixed by ourselves at A.D. 960. Hence the date of Lalliya's birth comes to A.D. 840. His usurpation may thus be dated in 865 and not in "about 850 A.D." that had been suggested by Elliot long ago.

10. Let us now adopt another method by taking into consideration three consecutive reigns. In the Hindu Sahi dynasty we have 95 years for the reigns of the first three generations. In the Mughal period we have the following :

Babar[1] to Akbar	101/111 years
Humayun to Jahangir	97 years
Akbar to Shahjahan[2]	102/110 years
Jahangir to Aurangzeb	102 years
Shahjahan to Bahadurshah	85 years

Let us have some cases from the Hindu period :

Bimbisara to Udayin	100 years
Chandragupta to Asoka	93 years
Samudragupta[3] to Kumaragupta I	105 years

Thus the period of 95 years which we obtain by taking 865 as the date of Lalliya's accession fits in well.

Lalliya Sahi was certainly alive about A. D. 890-92, the probable period of the encounter between him and Sankaravarman. The latest coin of Spalapatideva bears the figure 817 which if interpreted as a date expressed in the Saka era is equivalent to the year 895-96 A. D. (1 March 895 to 18 March 896 A. D., because there were two Sravanas in 895 A. D.). Hence S. 817=895-96 A. D. being the last known regnal year, I regard it as the year of Lalliya's death, to be expressed conveniently as 895 A. D.

Estimate of Work

Lalliya-Kallar-Spalapati was an important figure of his time. But because of paucity of materials, lack of unanimity about

His father died in 1494. He occupied Kabul in 1504. Hence two dates have been given above.

Two dates have been given as his end of rule (1658) and death (1666) do not coincide.

His date of accession according to Shri Ram Goyal (*op. cit.*, pp. 108-109) is A.D. 350 which we approve.

identifications, existence of more important rulers in India at the time and the practice of ignoring the history of border areas, he has so far escaped the attention of scholars. In the very beginning of his career he attained great power and influence. He deposed the last scion of the ancient dynasty of the Turki Shahiyas of Kabul and ultimately secured the crown for himself and his descendants. Religious activities over a wide area, varied coinage, and political events of far-reaching importance have made his reign significant. Although he lost on the front of Kabul, he was successful on all other political fronts because of power, influence and diplomacy. According to the description of Kalhana, he held his own between the Darads and the Turushkas as if placed between a lion and a boar (V. 152). His glory outshone that of all kings in the north (V. 154), and his capital Udabhanda or Udabhandapura was a safe place of refuge for neighbouring princes (V. 153).[1] Elsewhere too he refers to the extensive territory (भूमिवैपुल्यं)[2] of the dominions of king Sankaravarman's rival, [that is Lalliya Sahi,] called Sahidesa and its grandeur because of the king, ministers and the court (VII. 68-69)[3]. This powerful ruler, master of an extensive kingdom, has been correctly recognised as the founder of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty of the Kabul Valley and Gandhara.

1. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 99.
2. Gloss on भूमिवैपुल्यं : यस्य देशस्य भूमेः वैपुल्यं (included by both Stein and Vishva Bandhu in their text editions).
3. Stein's translation ("That Sahi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has above been briefly indicated in the account of King Sankaravarman's reign.....") is sligtly defective. We prefer R. S. Pandit's rendering : "In describing the period of king Sankaravarman above the vastness of the empire of the Sahis has been briefly disclosed. [68] That empire of the Sahis, with those ministers, the sovereign and his entourage...[69]"

CHAPTER III

SAMANTA (SAMAND) AND KAMALUKA-TORAMANA OR KAMALAVARMAN (KAMALU) A. D. 895-921

The history of the Hindu Sahi dynasty for a quarter of a century following the death of its illustrious founder is confusing and uneventful. The situation is worsened by the availability of two contradictory pieces of information in respect of chronology :

1. Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi, who lived during the reign of Shamsuddin Iltutmish (A. D. 1211-1236) of Delhi, in his book *Jami-ul- Hikayat* refers to an encounter between the Saffarid ruler Amr ibn Lais (reigned A. H. 265-287=A. D. 879-900), brother of Yaqub ibn Lais, and Kamalu, Rai (=King) of Hindustan. [This event has to take place before April 900, the date of the fall of Amr ibn Lais.]

2. According to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (written A. D. 1149-50) the Kashmir king Gopalavarman (r. 2/3 February 902 to 10 February 904=two years : V. 222, 240) deposed an unnamed Sahi king, called the 'rebellious Sahi', of Udabhandapura and gave his kingdom to Toramana, son of Lalliya, with the title of Kamaluka (V. 232-233). [This event took place in A. D. 902 or 903.]

The two dates thus available are mutually exclusive and have so far defied any solution. Scholars[1] have satisfied themselves by saying that the date of Gopalavarman (902-04 A. D.) as given by Kalhana involves a correction by a few years. This, however, is not so easy as it seems to be. The dates offered by Kalhana, the earlier authority, are very exact from A. D. 855/6 onwards and are therefore quite correct and may not "be regarded as only approximate" as Ray[2] thinks. The Muslim historian, flourishing a few decades

1. *E. g.*, H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 77, fn. 3.
2. *Ibid.*, fn. 4.

later, on the other hand, is recording a strong tradition and passing on a very valuable piece of information which we can refuse only at the cost of history, especially when we know that Muslims have been very particular about dates. Hence it is necessary that a third way be found out.

We have a solution to offer in this regard. According to this, the course of events took place in the following manner :—

Lalliya's immediate successor was his son Kamalavarman, also called Toramana. He was celebrated among the Muslims as Kamalu and was called Rai of Hindustan. Once there was an encounter between him and Amr ibn Lais (r. A. D. 879-900) in which the former lost. Kamalu could rule for a few months only (in A. D. 895 according to the chronology accepted by ourselves). He had to lose his throne which went to Samanta, a relation of Lalliya. Samanta in his turn ruled for about seven years. In the meantime Kamalu was able to secure the help of the Kashmir king for regaining his throne. Samanta was defeated and his kingdom was given back to Kamalu (A. D. 902) who also got the new name of Kamaluka. Thus restored and strengthened, Kamalu ruled for a good number of years.

We are now dealing with the reigns according to this plan.

PART I

TORAMANA OR KAMALAVARMAN (KAMALU) A. D. 895

According to the scheme suggested previously, Lalliya-Kallar was succeeded by his son who is named variously :

(i) in inscription :

Kala-Kamalavarman (Dewai Stone Inscription).

(ii) in literature :

Kamalaka (*Raj.*, V. 233, *v. l.*, *vide* Vishva Bandhu's edn.; Stein's edn. does not mention it),

Kamaluka (*Raj.*, V. 233),

Kamalu (given by Alberuni and Muhammad Ufi),
Kamalava, Kamalua (ditto, variant readings),
Toramana (*Raj.*, V. 233).

(iii) on coins[1] :
Kamaladeva,
Kamara,
Khamarayaka,
Khudavayaka, and
Padama[2].

Most of the names are different forms of Kamala or its derivatives. Padama (=Padma) is a synonym of Kamala. The name Toramana, as Stein (note on V. 232-233) says, "is probably of Turkish origin, and it is interesting to meet with it here in a dynasty which Alberuni distinctly designates as Brahman. But we know that this dynasty had succeeded to an ancient family of undoubtedly Turkish descent, and can thus easily account for the survival of the name." To us it appears that Kallar (Lalliya) had a Turkish wife (probably Lagaturman's daughter), and the son born of this lady was lovingly called Toramana reminiscent of the Turkish mother of the boy. The personal name of this boy was definitely Kamala or Kala-Kamalavarman as we know from the Dewai stone inscription. Alberuni and Kalhana use epithets for him that are derived from his personal name Kamala.

Son of a great ruler, Kamala or Kamalu seems to have made a great impression on his neighbours including the Muslims.

Sakawand Adventure

A. D. 895[3]

Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi narrates a story in his book *Jamiul-Hikayat* (I. xii. 18, given in Elliot, II, p. 172) which mentions Kamalu as the Rai of Hindustan. The story may be briefly stated below :

1. We shall take it up in detail elsewhere (*vide* section on coins).
2. This is our suggestion. *Vide infra.*
3. Muhammad Ufi does not say as to when the event took place. This date has been suggested by ourselves, keeping in view the exigencies of the situation obtaining at Udabhandapura and the personal career of Amr ibn Lais. See *infra.*

Amr ibn Lais conferred the governorship of Zabulistan on Fardaghan and sent him there at the head of four thousand horse. When Fardaghan arrived in Zabulistan, he led his army against Sakawand[1], a large Hindu place of worship in that country with a temple and many idols. He took the temple, broke the idols into pieces, and overthrew the idolaters. He informed Amr ibn Lais of the conquest and asked for reinforcements. When the news of the fall of Sakawand reached Kamalu, who was Rai of Hindustan, he collected an innumerable army and marched towards Zabulistan to take revenge. Even when his camp was in Hindustan, he learnt from some Hindus (who were really Fardaghan's spies) that the Muhammadans had collected a strong force to oppose him. Rai Kamalu abandoned the project on receipt of this news.

If the story is true, it throws interesting light on the weak side of Kamalu's character. First, it was not his business to meddle in the affairs of Zabulistan; if he suffered from some sort of religious zeal, it was ill-placed. Secondly, it was impolitic to fight against a strong ruler like Amr ibn Lais. Thirdly, his intelligence department was hopelessly incompetent and he lacked in self confidence too.

Loss of Throne

In our view, the matter did not stop with the abandonment of the project by Kamalu, Rai of Hindustan. It appears somebody connected with the royal family through blood conspired with the Muslims to overthrow Kamalu in his favour. His personal name and relationship with Lalliya have not come down to us, as he is called simply Samanta ('Feudatory'). The Muslims were the old enemies of the Hindu Sahis who had been ousted from Kabul only about 25 years ago. The misplaced religious zeal of the Rai also

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[1] According to the late Professor S. H. Hodivala, Sakawand "lay about 50 miles south of Kabul, and about 35 miles north-east of Ghazni. The Sagawand Pass lay along the *direct* route from Ghazni to India" (Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 646 : Hodivala's Commentary).

must have been disliked by the rulers of Zabulistan and Kabul. Hence, it seems, Kamalu was defeated by the combined forces of Samanta and the Muslims who now dominated the scene. Kamalu left the kingdom and waited for better days. As in the case of the Mughals or Chaghtai Turks of Kabul and Delhi about six and a half centuries later, so in the case of the Hindu Sahis of the Kabul-Gandhara region, the second generation, the son of the founder, had to pass a test of eligibility and continuance.

PART II

SAMANTA (SAMAND)
A. D. 895-902

Samanta, who now gained the Sahi throne, was either a representative of the late Turki Shahiya dynasty[1] or a blood relation of Kallar. We prefer the latter view as his name occurs in Alberuni's list of the Hindu Shahiya kings (Sachau, II, p. 13).

Help from Kabul Muslims and Kashmir Anti-royalists

Two factors helped Samanta, who was a clever man. He was against the ruling king of Kashmir (Sankaravarman) like Lalliya (V. 155), but unlike him (V. 152) he was a friend of the Turushkas (Muslims) whom Kalhana compared with boars. He joined the side of Amr ibn Lais and got the throne of Udabhandapura with his help[2]. He must have received help from the anti-royalist party of the Kashmir court[3] as well, because the new ruling dynasty of the Utpalas had not yet taken strong roots[4].

Name or Epithet ?

The name Samand as recorded by Alberuni sounds more like an epithet than a proper name. Hence it is possible that his personal

1. This view is held by Muhammad Nazim, p. 194.
2. This is our suggestion. Our sources are silent on this.
3. This is another suggestion of ours.
4. Sankaravarman had to face a civil war before he became the undisputed king of Kashmir (V. 127-135).

name has not come down to us and that he might have tried to please his supporters, especially the Muslims, by calling himself their "feudatory" (*samanta*). Unfortunately Kalhana too is silent about his proper name.

Reason of Kalhana's Silence

M. A. Stein[1] suggests a plausible reason for Kalhana's silence: Is it possible that Kalhana's silence as to the name of the "rebellious Sahi" is caused by some misapprehension on his part or on that of his authority, as to the import of the name *Samanta* ? The word is very common in the meaning of "feudatory", but not known as a proper name except in the Shahiya dynasty. Coins of the latter, very frequent in the Western Punjab, show the legend *Sri Samantadeva*, and thus attest the existence of a Sahi ruler of this name.

Chronology

According to the scheme of events suggested earlier by ourselves, the death of Lalliya, his son Kamaluka's accession and rule for a very brief period (say, a few months) and Samanta's usurpation took place in the year 895 A.D., which is the last known date of Lalliya according to coins. We wish to furnish some additional data for fixing the date of Samanta's accession/usurpation :

1. Samanta, who is not named but called the "rebellious Sahi" (V. 233) by Kalhana, is represented as the master of the Sahi dominions at Udabhandapura (V. 232). The capital was transferred to this place after the Sahis had been ousted from Kabul by the Muslims in A.D. 870-871. Hence the date we are in search of must fall after this (A.D. 870-871).

2. Also, the date must fall between 883 and 902; because in the beginning of the reign of Sankaravarman (883-902) of Kashmir the Udabhandapura throne is occupied by Lalliya, and Samanta came definitely after him. The lower limit is fixed by the date of Prabhakaradeva's expedition against the Sahi capital and

1. *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 101, fn. 31.

Kamaluka's installation sometime in the reign of the Kashmir king Gopalavarman (A.D. 902-904).

3. The date should be a bit removed from 902 to give Samand some time for reigning in order to enable him to find a place in Alberuni's list.

4. The date should be a bit removed from 902 to enable Samantadeva to issue coins which are found in a good number.

5. The career of Amr ibn Lais, the Persian general who was appointed governor of Khurasan (final confirmation in 892) and later also of Transoxiana (February 898), may possibly throw welcome light on the question at issue. From Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi's *Jami-ul-Hikayat* (in Elliot, II, p. 172) we know that there was an encounter between Amr ibn Lais and Kamalu, Rai of Hindustan. What is the probable date of this ? Can we fix the chronological limits for this event ? The *Jami-ul-Hikayat* depicts Amr ibn Lais as the governor of Khurasan and not as the governor of Khurasan-and-Transoxiana which office he was conferred on in February 898. In 899 his general was defeated and slain. In April 900 he was himself defeated and captured at Balkh. He was sent to Baghdad and after remaining in captivity there was executed on 20 April 902 A.D.[1] Thus the heyday of Amr ibn Lais extended from 892 to 899; and the date of the encounter between him and Kamalu must fall sometime between 892 and 897 (prior to his combining the rule of Transoxiana with his governorship of Khurasan). Hence, the date of Kamalu's accession, his encounter with Amr ibn Lais and Samanta's usurpation may be put at 895 or 896 without any difficulty.

Effect of Fall of Amr ibn Lais (April 900 A.D.) on Sankaravarman

We find increased political activity in the north-western region during the two or three years following the fall of Amr ibn Lais

1. A succinct account of Amr ibn Lais is given by W. Barthold in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* for which see Vol. I (A-D), Leyden and London, 1913, pp. 335-336 and Vol. I (A-B), new edn , Leyden and London, 1960, pp. 452-453.

(April 900 A.D.) in the Islamic world. Hence we feel tempted to suggest that it affected Kashmir and Gandhara in its own way.

Taking up Kashmir first, Viranaka, which was in the immediate vicinity of the Kashmir frontier, became turbulent and killed the negligent lord of the Gate (*dvaradhipa*) (V. 214). This compelled Sankaravarman to undertake *digvijaya* for the second time (V. 215-217). In the meantime he took one precautionary measure.

Sahi, the Violator of Order
A. D. 900–901

It appears Sankaravarman, taking advantage of the fall of Amr ibn Lais (April 900 A. D.), sent some 'order' (आज्ञा)[1] to the Sahi king (Samanta), which ('order') must have been of the same type as has been referred to in V. 155 in connection with Lalliya. Samanta, though deprived of his friend's help now, did not obey this order. Instead, he began to instigate the frontier people against the Kashmir king.

Hidden Hand in Kashmir King's Death
A.D. 902

In the second round of his *digvijaya* Sankaravarman of Kashmir destroyed Viranaka, conquered numerous territories on the banks of the Indus, and received the homage of their terror-stricken kings (V. 215–216). As he was marching back through Urasa (the present Hazara district), he was fatally wounded in the course of a conflict with the inhabitants on account of the quartering of his troops and died on 2/3 February 902 A. D. (V. 222)[2]. His violent death in the hills of Urasa, not very far from the Sahi capital, may not be entirely unconnected with the hidden hand of the Sahis[3], because Samanta had been carrying on a policy of hostility.

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1. Inferrable from the expression आज्ञातिक्रमिणः शाहेः राज्यं used in *Raj.* (V. 233) for Samanta. There must then be some *ajna* (आज्ञा) or order whose *atikrami* (अतिक्रमी) or violator he became.
2. He died on the seventh day of the dark half of Phalguna (फाल्गुने कृष्णसप्तम्यां) which fell on two dates, *viz.*, 2 and 3 February 902 A. D.
3. Suggested by H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 75.

Defeat and Dethronement of the Rebellious Sahi

Circa **A. D. 902**

The enmity between the rebellious Sahi and the Kashmir State continued, and the Sahi usurper had to lose his throne.

Kamalu, the deposed king, had not been idle in the intervening period. He was able to win over the ruling party of Kashmir in his favour. Sankaravarman was dead. His young son Gopalavarman was on the throne, ruling under the guardianship of his mother Sugandha. The greatest influence in the state, however, was exercised by Prabhakaradeva, minister[1], treasurer[2] and the widow-queen's paramour[3]. Kamalu invaded Udabhandapura. He was "aided by a Kashmirian auxiliary force"[4] which, in our opinion, constituted the main fighting force. The war, called the Sahi War (शाहिविग्रह, V. 238), resulted in the defeat and dethronement of the reigning Sahi. After vanquishing the Sahi kingdom at Udabhandapura (V. 232), Prabhakaradeva "bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Sahi upon Toramana, Lalliya's son, gave him the [new] name Kamaluka" (V. 233) and returned to Srinagar in triumph[5].

Identification of the Rebellious Sahi

Who was this "rebellious Sahi" (V. 233) mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* ? This prince was certainly other than Lalliya Sahi. Our grounds for this are as follows :

1. Lalliya Sahi's story (V. 152-155) is already over. Also, the story seems to be complete in itself. Hence there is apparently no need to bring him here again.

1. *Raj.*, V. 230.
2. *Ibid.*, V. 232-239, 471; VIII. 1953 (by implication).
3. *Ibid.*, V. 230-237, 472; VIII. 1953.
4. M. A. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 101.
5. As Sankaravarman died in the very beginning of the year 902 A. D., we suggest that the Sahi War took place sometime in that very year or at the beginning of the following year. Gopalavarman ruled for two years only (2/3 February 902 to 10 February 904) (V. 240). Hence the date has to be fixed within these limits.

2. Sankaravarman was killed at Urasa. It has been surmised that the Sahi prince had some hand in it. Had this prince been Lalliya, this might have been mentioned clearly by Kalhana who seems to be unwilling to name the rebellious prince.

3. There are chronological difficulties also, because the nameless Sahi had been defeated as late as 902 when Lalliya was probably dead.

4. The whole thing (V. 232-233) has been stated in such a way and tone that Lalliya, whose son Kamaluka was installed as a result of his victorious expedition, is automatically excluded. We can put it differently also : Lalliya (V. 155, 233) and his son Kamaluka-Toramana (V. 233) are mentioned specifically. Also, Kamaluka supplanted the rebellious prince (V. 233). So the rebellious prince is other than Lalliya Sahi.

5. Alberuni gives a list of Hindu Shahiya kings which contains a name between Kallar (that is, Lalliya) and Kamalu (that is, Kamaluka). It is Samand which is Samantadeva of the coins. The rebellious prince of the *Rajatarangini* must be this Samantadeva whom Kalhana did not mention by name.

Coins

Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva (सामन्तदेव) or Samantadeva (सामन्तदेव) alone or in conjunction with other names were current over a long period and have been found in large numbers and in wide areas like Afghanistan (including the Kandahar Museum[1]), the Yusufzai district (Sabri-Bahlol)[2], the whole of the Punjab and of Northern India[3]; one such specimen was found in 1842 in distant Poland "at a place called Obrzycko, in the province of Posen, in company with those of thirty different kings of Europe and Asia, all of whom reigned prior to 975 A. D."[4]

1. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Coins*, p. 306.
2. A. Cunningham, *ASR*, V, p. 45.
3. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 181; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 422.
4. Adrien de Longperier in Reinaud's *Fragments Arabes et Persians relatifs a l' Inde*, p. 223. Quoted in *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 178 and Elliot, Vol. II, p. 422.

They were imitated till about the thirteenth century A. D. They present many complicated problems.

The coins of Samanta or Samantadeva referred to above are of various categories :—

1. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva (without dates) : They may be either his or of Spalapati (Lalliya-Kallar)[1] or even of some unnamed "feudatory" of a suzerain king (either of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty or of some other line), because *Samanta* means "feudatory".

2. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva (with dates in the Saka era) : These dates[2] fall in the reign of Spalapati whose coins also with same dates (in the Saka era)[3] are available. Hence, interpreting Samanta as a title of Spalapati which is itself a title, it may be said that the coins of this category belong to Spalapati or Lalliya-Kallar.[4]

3. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva with some adjective-looking word or name of some deity prefixed to it : "On some coins, we have clearly *Asavari-sri-Samantadeva, Madhava-sri-Samantadeva, Kutamana-sri-Samantadeva*, etc. [5] The expressions *Asavari, Madhava, Kutamana*, etc., found in this connection on the issues of different rulers, appear to be the names of the tutelary or family deities of the kings in question. It is thus not impossible to think that at least some of the supposed issuers of such coins were inclined to present themselves as the *samanta* or feudatory of the deities in question. There are many instances in Indian history of kings ruling their dominions, in a theoretically subordinate capacity,

1. The reason is inferrable from the second category of coins discussed just below.
2. Smith (*CCIMC*, p. 247, Nos. 2, 4, 9) has illustrated three coins with marginal numerals equivalent to 814 [S.=892 A. D.]. This date falls in the reign of Lalliya-Kallar-Spalapati.
3. As interpreted by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Both Cunningham (*CMI*, pp. 85ff.) and Smith (*CCIMC*, pp. 260 ff.) have noticed several examples of this type.

in the names of deities or saints either living or dead. There are also several instances of the mention of tutelary deities on certain types of early Indian coins. It should however be admitted that the expression *sri-Samantadeva* looks more like a name than an epithet. But *Samantadeva* may in such cases be compared with the subordinate title *Samantaraya* (Sanskrit *Samantaraja*, same as the Oriya-Bengali family name *Santra*) found in the medieval inscriptions of Orissa." [1]

4. Coins bearing the word Samanta or Samantadeva along with the names of various rulers of different dynasties : "There is a difficulty in regarding this Samantadeva as a single individual like an old Sahi king in all the cases. Under ordinary circumstances, it can hardly be expected that so many kings would issue coins consciously retaining on them the name of an old monarch who had been dead many years ago." [2] Elliot also holds that "Samanta, whenever it is found with another name, is throughout merely a title, meaning the warrior, the hero, the *preux chivalier*, the leader of an army, the Amir". [3]

Though Samanta continued the elephant and lion type also, his recumbent humped bull and horseman type is very commonly found. These latter coins can be classified into many sub-varieties according to the position of the legend and the Saivite mark and the particular portions of the figures on the obverse and reverse being distinct.[4] H. de S Shortt (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1956, p. 314) refers to 29 coins from a hoard; on these coins, unlike the earlier coins with this name, the figures of the bull and horseman are drawn in outline. [5]

1. The view is of D. C. Sircar (*Indian Coins*, pp. 235-236) which we fully endorse.
2. We fully endorse this view of D. C. Sircar (*ibid.*, p. 235) who continues : "This could have been possible only when there were special circumstances justifying this strange behaviour of the rulers". The coins of our category 3 above are of this type.
3. Elliot, Vol. II, p. 423.
4. L. Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 30.
5. *Ibid*,

It would appear "from the number of Samanta's proper coins still extant, and the variety of countries they are to be found in, that he must have held under his sway some very rich and extensive kingdom."[1]

PART III

KAMALUKA-TORAMANA OR KAMALAVARMAN (KAMALU) (RESTORED)

A. D. 902-921

The Sahi War (शाहिविग्रह, V. 238) of A. D. 902 affected politics both at Srinagar and Udabhandapura.

Aftermath of Sahi War in Kashmir

Prabhakaradeva, who had previously been Sankaravarman's treasurer (V. 471-472) and was now his son Gopalavarman's minister and superintendent of the treasury, became arrogant in his behaviour after his return from the Udabhandapura expedition. He was supreme in State affairs not only because of his important offices, but also because of his being the paramour of the widow-queen and the comparatively young age of the king Gopalavarman. He was extremely greedy. "Sankaravarman's treasures which were obtained by maltreating the people, were freely used up by Prabhakara and the other paramours of his (Sankaravarman's) wife."[2] "When King Gopalavarman had by degrees realised the state of things, this robber of his wealth and honour became for him a terrible eyesore. When the king insisted on an inspection of the treasury-chests, he told him that all that was missing in the treasury had been spent on the expedition against the Sahi."[3] Thereupon the treasurer became afraid of the king and conspired to get him murdered. Gopalavarman died after a rule of two years.

Changed Sahi Policy Towards Kashmir

The policy of the first two Sahi kings towards Kashmir was one of hostility, one of the reasons being that the Sahis were now

1. E. Thomas, *JRAS*, Vol. 9, 1848, p. 182.
2. *Raj.*, VIII. 1953.
3. *Raj.*, V. 237-238.

masters of part of the region formerly under Kashmir. A new era began in Gandhara-Kashmir relations with the Sahi War and the Kashmirian intervention in Udabhanda affairs. Kamaluka had been restored to the Sahi throne with Kashmirian help. Hence, because of this and other factors to be related later, the kings of Kashmir adopted a policy of friendliness and helpfulness towards Gandhara which continued at least for more than half a century and was revived later too.

Coins

Difficulties still exist on the point of identification of names. If, however, the identifications suggested are accepted, it may be said that Kamalu or Kamaluka (neither of these names is found on any coin) issued all types of coins which are four in number. We are arranging below the types keeping in view the nearness of the available name to Kala-Kamala or Kamalu :—

1. *Hamsa* type : H. C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, p. 102) refers to a coin in the British Museum with the name *Sri Kamaladeva* on the obverse and the figure of a *hamsa* on the reverse.

2. Peacock and lion type : A single specimen of a coin of the British Museum has on its obverse a peacock with out-spread wings to left and on the reverse a lion to left with the legend *Sri Kamara* [1]

3. Horseman and bull type : The legend on this type of coins has been read variously :

Khamarayaka
Khamaradaka } (Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 59, 64)

Khvadava (Thomas)

Khvadavayaka (Bayley and Rodgers)

Khudavayaka (Smith)

This king is considered as identical with Kamalu.

4. Elephant and lion type : The legend on this type is *Sri Padama*[2]. The king remains unidentified. I wish to identify him with Kamalu as both Padama and Kamala mean 'lotus'.

1. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 62.
2. Smith, *CCIMC*, p. 243.

H. Humbach describes Khvadavayaka as derived from an old Iranian title *xvatʻavaya* meaning sovereign which may be compared with the Bactrian *xoadeo* used by the Turki Shahis of Kabul, the predecessors of the Shahis of Ohind[1].

Date of Death

What is the date of the close of Kamaluka's reign ?

No date is available. Hence we are left to speculate. We suggest A.D. 921 on the following grounds :

1. The reign of Kamaluka is not eventful. Hence we cannot presume a long reign for him. A reign slightly less than the average figure obtained by comparing several cases may be given to him.

2. According to the scheme of chronology suggested by ourselves (see chapter on Bhima) Kamaluka's son Bhima was born in A.D. 892 and was 29 years old in 921, quite fit to rule over the Sahi dominions. Any date later than this for the commencement of the eventful reign of Bhima does not appear to be reasonable.

3. Let us take two complete generations (from the birth of the person to the death of his son) into consideration and see what happens. We have dates of Mughal kings for several generations for our help and guidance :

Babar to Humayun	: 73 years
Humayun to Akbar	: 97 years
Akbar to Jahangir	: 85 years
Jahangir to Shahjahan	: 97 years
Shahjahan to Aurangzeb	: 115 years
Aurangzeb to Bahadurshah	: 94 years
Some known cases from Hindu history are :	
Bimbisara to Ajatasatru	: 99 years
Chandragupta[2] to Bindusara	: 77 years
Samudragupta[3] to Chandragupta II	: 104 years

1. Quoted by Lallanji Gopal, *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 31.
2. Treating him as a junior contemporary of Alexander the Great (356-323 B. C.) by six years.
3. Born in A.D. 310. See Shri Ram Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, Allahabad, 1967, pp. 109-110 (by implication).

Discarding unusually high figures like 115 and 104, we find that the figures range between 73 and 99. We take a slightly lower figure (81) for the reason indicated under no. 1 above. Thus 840+81=921 A.D. represents the date of Kamaluka's death.

4. We have derived a date, A.D. 921. for the accession of Bhima for which see the following chapter. This has been arrived at independently. This date will naturally indicate the date of his father's death as well.

CHAPTER IV

BHIMA

A. D. 921-960

Kala-Kamalavarman (Kamaluka or Kamalu) was succeeded by his son Bhima Sahi whose relationship with his predecessor-in-office is indicated by his Dewai Stone Inscription (*EI*, 21, 299).

Name and Epithets

The name of this ruler is available in all kinds of sources :

1. *Sahi-Sri-Bhimade*[*va*] in his Dewai Stone Inscription (*EI*, 21, p. 299) ;
2. *Sri-Bhima-deva* on his coins (Cunningham, pp. 64-65 ; Smith, p. 243 ; L. Gopal, p. 72) ;
3. *Sri-Bhima-Sahi* in Kalhana's Sanskrit *Rajatarangini* (VI. 178, VII. 1081) ; and
4. *Bhima* in Alberuni's Arabic *Tahqiq ma lil-Hind* called *Alberuni's India* or simply *India* (or *Indica*) in English translation (II, p. 13).

The following epithets of Bhima are given in his inscription :

(i) *Gadahasta* (गदाहस्त),
(ii) *Paramabhataraka* (परमभटारक),
(iii) *Maharajadhiraja* (महाराजाधिराज),
(iv) *Parameswara* (परमेश्वर), and
(v) *Sahi* (साहि).

Of these, epithet nos. 2 to 4 were widely current among the rulers of the period in India and were indicative of sovereign power.

Chronology

Before we proceed further, it is necessary to know the chronology on which the whole framework of events depends. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* furnishes sufficient data for knowing the dates (*e. g.*, of birth, marriage, birth of son and grandsons) of Didda, the famous

queen of Kashmir. As she was Bhima's daughter's daughter, we may be in a position to know the approximate (nay, almost exact) dates of Bhima's and his daughter's birth and the latter's marriage.

A close study of the *Rajatarangini* has offered us the following valuable clues for determining the date of Didda's birth. The points have been grouped according to reigns for the sake of convenience and easy reference.

(A) The reign of her husband (Kshemagupta), A. D. 950-958 (8 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 150-187.

1. Didda is youthful, domineering and clever (probable years of life : 22-30) :

(a) The references to Didda's husband's youth (*tarunya*, तारुण्य) (VI. 150) and licentious character (VI. 150-167) indicate that she was youthful in her husband's reign. Had the case been different, it would have been mentioned by Kalhana who does not hesitate to refer to a queen of tender age (*sisuh*, शिशुः), Nanda, wife of King Gopalavarman (V. 245).

(b) Kshemagupta was under the complete influence of his wife Didda who was a domineering lady in her husband's reign. This is proved by the *Rajatarangini* and the coins. According to the Chronicle (VI. 177) as Didda wholly engrossed his mind, the king became known by the humiliating appellation of *Didda-Kshema* which is contracted on the coins to *Di-Kshema*.[1] The coins with this name are extremely common.

(c) She was clever enough not to immolate herself on her husband's death (VI. 195-196).

(B) The reign of her son (Abhimanyu), A. D. 958-972 (14 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 188-292.

2. Abhimanyu, her son, is called *sisuh* (शिशुः) (VI. 188) when he became king under the guardianship of Queen Didda (VI. 188, 193; VIII. 3438). This word, however, is capable of many interpretations :

(i) The sense in which the word is frequently used is 'a child', 'an infant,' or 'a small boy'. For example, it has been used

1. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 45. Smith, *CCIMC*, p. 270.

in this sense in VII. 260, 261 with reference to Utkarsha (the second son of Kalasa) who was still a child at the breast (VII. 257).

(ii-iii) It is also used in the sense of 'a boy under eight or sixteen years of age'. The latter sense ('a boy under sixteen years of age') is implied when Kalhana uses *sithilasaisavah* (शिथिलशैशवः, VII. 143) and *vyutkrantasaisavam* (व्युत्क्रान्तशैशवं, VIII. 1227) with reference to King Ananta and Prince Jayasimha respectively who were more than sixteen at the time.

(iv) In a wide sense it is used for the period one is busy in acquiring learning. Kalidasa[1] uses the word in this sense, making *saisava* (शैशव) and *yauvana* (यौवन) mutually exclusive. Kalhana also has some such thing in his mind when he makes use of words like *anatikrantabalyah* (अनतिक्रान्तबाल्यः, V. 229), *sithilasaisavah* (शिथिलशैशवः, VII. 143) and *vyutkrantasaisavam* (व्युत्क्रान्तशैशवं, VIII. 1227). Thus Kalasa who is about 23 years[2] old is called *sisu* (शिशु) (VII. 242), and his *yauvana* (यौवन) is referred to in the following *sloka* (VII. 243).

Here, following the context, it seems Abhimanyu was comparatively young (say, 14 years of age) so that he had to remain under the guardianship of his mother.

3. Her son ruled for 14 years. He had three sons who succeeded him one after the other. As he was comparatively young at the time of his accession, these three children were *definitely* born between his accession and death, *i. e.*, between 958 and 972.

4. Even at the time of his death, her son was not fairly aged. This further proves the point raised under no. 2 above. His youthfulness (*tarunya*, तारुण्य, VI. 290) has been described (VI. 290-291) and "this moon of the subjects" has been called "yet half-full" (*ardhamanah*, अर्धमानः) at the time of his death (VI. 292).

5. Towards the end of the reign of her son (say, between 970 and 972) she is said to be "old" (*vriddhabandhakya*, वृद्धबन्धक्या, VI.

1. *Raghuvamsa*, 1. 8 :

शैशवेऽभ्यस्तविद्यानां
यौवने विषयैषिणाम् ।
वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनां
योगेनान्ते तनुत्यजाम् ॥८॥

2. By combining VII. 723, 233, 240.

286). This piece of information is highly important. It may go as far as indicating almost the exact date of Didda's birth. For Ananta (*varddhake*, वार्द्धके, VII. 242) and Harsha (*vriddhah*, वृद्धः, VII. 1676) have been called old when they were between 42 and 44 years of age. Ananta was *definitely* more than 43 years old[1] on the day following[2] the crowning of his son Kalasa. Harsha was more than 42½ years old[3] when he was lamenting the death of his young son Bhoja. Thus we may suppose that Didda too might have been of this age (43 or 44) between 970 and 972.

(C) The reigns of her grandsons (Nandigupta, Tribhuvana and Bhimagupta), A. D. 972-980/1 (8/9 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 293-331.

6. Her first grandson Nandigupta, who ascended the throne in A. D. 972, has been called *balah* (बालः) at that time. This means that his age was eight years or so. A year later, he is mentioned as "little grandson" (*arbhake naptari*, अर्भके नप्तरि, VI. 310). It may be noted that at the time of accession Ananta, who has been called *balah* (बालः) (VII. 135), was eight years old.[4]

7. Her third grandson Bhimagupta ascended the throne in A. D. 975 while yet a *sisuh* (शिशुः, VI. 326). After living four or five years (चतुष्पञ्चानि वर्षाणि तिष्ठन्) in the palace (*i. e.*, by 979 or 980 A. D.), he became a little more developed in intellect (यावत्किंचित् प्रौढीभवन्मतिः) (VI. 326), and recognised in his mind (तस्य चेतसि) that the affairs of the kingdom and his grandmother's ways of living were not right, and in need of reform (VI. 327). This may help us to speculate over the age of the third grandson of Didda, who was soon disposed of by the merciless and shameless queen in A. D. 980/1 (VI. 332). He might have been 12/13 years old at the time of his death.

(D) Her own reign (the reign of Didda), A. D. 980/1-1003 (23/22 years) : *Raj.*, VI. 332-368.

1. By combining VII. 452, 484, 233, 240.
2. VII. 240.
3. By combining VII. 1717, 1497, 1676 and VIII. 35.
4. By combining VII. 452, 484, 127, 131, 135.

in this sense in VII. 260, 261 with reference to Utkarsha (the second son of Kalasa) who was still a child at the breast (VII. 257).

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1. By combining VII. 452, 484, 233, 240.
2. VII. 240.
3. By combining VII. 1717, 1497, 1676 and VIII. 35.
4. By combining VII. 452, 484, 127, 131, 135.

8. Didda dominated the political and cultural scene of Kashmir history from 950 to 1003, *i.e.*, for 53 years and had consequently a long life. She must have been 75 or so at the time of her death.

Thus, if we suppose

(i) that marriage took place when the bridegroom and the bride were 19 and 15 respectively,

(ii) that the first issue was born a year later (when they were 20 and 16 respectively), and

(iii) that the interval between the births of two issues was two years,

the following chronology emerges. In order that the whole thing may be understood in a right perspective, we have also furnished the dates given in the *Rajatarangini*. Dates suggested by ourselves are preceded by *c*.

c. 892 Bhima Sahi born.

c. 912 Bhima's daughter born.

c. 927 Bhima's daughter married to King Simharaja, the lord of Lohara and other strongholds (VI. 176-178).

c. 928 Daughter (Didda) born to Bhima's daughter and King Simharaja of Lohara (VI. 176-177,304; VII. 1284). Thus Didda was Sahi's daughter's daughter (VI. 177) and Sri Bhima Sahi was the maternal grandfather of this lady (VI. 178).

c, 943 Didda married to Kshemagupta (VI. 176, VII. 1284, VIII. 3437-3439), son of Parvagupta (VI. 150, VIII. 1956).

c. 944 Didda's son Abhimanyu (VI. 188) born.

950 (30 June) King Parvagupta died (VI. 148). His son Kshemagupta became king in youth (VI. 150).

950-958 Kshemagupta married to Chandralekha (VI. 179, 194) and other wives (VI. 195).

958 (22 December) Kshemagupta died (VI. 187). Abhimanyu, child-son of Kshemagupta, became king under the guardianship of Queen Didda (VI. 188, VIII. 3438).

c. 964 Abhimanyu's first son Nandigupta born.

c. 966 Abhimanyu's second son Tribhuvana born.

c. 968 Abhimanyu's third son Bhimagupta born.

972 (13 October) Abhimanyu died (VI. 292). His first son Nandigupta became king (VI. 293).

973 (10 November) Nandigupta died (VI. 311). His brother Tribhuvana succeeded to the throne.

975 (11 November) Tribhuvana died (VI 312). Bhimagupta made king (VI. 313).

979 (22 November) or 980 (15 November) The child Bhimagupta, after living four or five years in the palace, becomes a little more developed in intellect now (VI. 326).

980/1 Bhimagupta died (VI. 332). Didda herself ascended the throne (*ibid.*).

1003 (8 August) Queen Didda died and her nephew Yuvaraja Sangramaraja became king (VI. 365).

Accession, Coronation and Starting of Eras

The heading of chapter 49 of Alberuni's *India* (tr. Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 1-14) is 'A Summary Description of the Eras'. An idea of the subject-matter of this chapter is given in unmistakable terms where Alberuni says (p. 9): "I have already excused myself on account of the imperfection of the information given in *this chapter*.

For we cannot offer *a strictly scientific account of the eras to which it is devoted...*" (*italics* ours).

In the edition of the extant book this chapter contains two different types of materials :—

A. A summary description of the Indian eras :

1. Eras vying with each other in antiquity whose use has been given up by the people—7 eras (pp. 1-5).
2. More important eras adopted by the people that are listed at one place and/or referred to in the text with names of founders—9 eras (pp. 5-8).
3. Less important eras adopted by the people of particular areas in the North-West Region (mentioned in the text in connection with 'different beginnings of the year' without names of founders)—5 eras (pp. 8-10).

B. A summary description of two ruling dynasties :

1. The Turki (Tibetan) dynasty of kings called the *Shahiyas of Kabul* (pp. 10-13).
2. The Hindu Shahiya dynasty (pp. 13-14).

We wonder why the portion regarding the Shahiyas (*i. e.*, the Turki Shahiya dynasty and the Hindu Shahiya dynasty) was inserted here at all when *this chapter is devoted to a strictly scientific account of the eras*. Probably it was done because the Turki Shahiyas were descended from, or in any other way connected with, Kanishka whom present-day historians regard as the founder of the well-known Saka era. For the insertion of the account of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty we propose the following explanation.

The manuscript of Alberuni's *India* is not free from textual corruptions. There are lacunae in it (*e. g.*, Vol. I, pp. 269, 270).

Hence we suggest that lacunae exist in this chapter as well, and some portions linking the eras with the account of the dynasty have not come down to us. We propose reconstruction of the text in the following manner by putting our suggested portions within brackets [ ] :—

1. Page 10 (top) :

"Durlabha says.....that the astronomers of Multan begin it (=the year) with Caitra.

"[Some of the above-mentioned eras were founded by the kings of these people and areas inhabited by the Hindus.] The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin."

2. Page 13 (middle) :

"This Hindu Shahiya dynasty [responsible for the foundation of some of the Indian eras] is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence."

We should now examine the epochs of eras under category 3 above and see which of them might have been started by one or more kings of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. We arrange here Alberuni's materials in the form of a chart. The eras have been put in a chronological order. Exact dates have been taken from the book on *An Indian Ephemeris* after calculating the years. Details about the Kashmirian calendar (called the *Laukika* era) have been taken from Stein's *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, Intr., p. 58 and put within brackets. In case nos. 1 and 4 of the chart below are identical, the epochs of the *laukika-kala* of serial no. 4 (9 November 926 A.D. and 7 March 927 A. D.) become inapplicable; in that case the year 105 of the *laukika-kala* of serial no. 4 is to be interpreted as the completed year and hence equal to the 4106th (current) year of the *Laukika* era of serial no. 1.

List of Indian eras whose founders are not mentioned :
Gauge-year : 400 Yazdajird (9 March 1031 A. D : Chaitra *sudi* 13)

Serial No.	Name of the era	Area or people covered	In which year was that era in March 1031 A. D. ?	The beginning of the year of the era took place with	The first year of the era started on
1.	The Kashmirian calendar [=the *Laukika* era]	The people of Kashmir	the sixth year of a new *centennium* [= 4106 of the *Laukika* era]	the new moon of Chaitra	[Chaitra *sudi* 1 of the year 3076-75 B. C.]
2.	An era of the people who inhabit the country between Bardari and Marigala	All the people who inhabit the country between Bardari and Marigala	the 110th year of an era of theirs	the month Kartika	5 October 921 A.D.
3.	An era of the people of Nirahara	The people living in the country Nirahara, behind Marigala as far as the utmost frontiers of Takeshar and Lohavar	the 108th year of their era	the month Margasirsha	12 November 923 A. D.
4.	The *laukika-kala*, *i. e.*, the era of the people		105 is the year of the *laukika-kala*	the month Margasirsha (Chaitra for the astronomers of Multan)	9 November 926 A.D./7 March 927 A. D.
5.	An era of the people of Kanir	The inhabitants of Kanir which is conterminous with Kashmir	the 84th year of an era of theirs	the month Bhadrapada	19 August 947 A.D.

Through the process of elimination we find that nos. 2 and 3 are suitable for our consideration, because neither regions (*desa*) nor dates (*kala*) nor character (*patra*) goes against our theory of the foundation of some era or eras by the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. After all, eras are generally started by kings ; the Shahiya dynasty has been mentioned in a chapter which is devoted to Indian or Hindu eras; and the region is North-West India where so many eras were current among different peoples. Who could have then started these eras whose founders are not named by Alberuni ? The dates are 921 and 923 when the Indus basin was being ruled over by Bhima of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. Hence we are of the view that the era of A.D. 921 was started by Bhima to commemorate his accession.

Why is it that we find another era in the same region two years later ? We wish to suggest that this was to commemorate another event of the same value, that is, the coronation of Bhima at Kabul. In the tenth century A. D. the city of Kabul was already Muslim, whilst the suburb was inhabited by the Hindus and the Jews. Kabul was the coronation city[1] of the kings of the Sahi dynasty, as Konigsberg in Prussia was that of the Hohenzollerns. Even when they had ceased to reside there and had made Udabhanda the capital of their empire, they had to be crowned in Kabul.[2] It has been remarked[3] that the Sahi kings retained possession of the town[4] of Kabul and always respected it as their original capital. Every king of this family had to be crowned in Kabul, otherwise the people would not acknowledge him king. The Sahi kings though they resided at Wahind went to Kabul for their coronation.[5]

Thus it is that Bhima was also duty bound to go to Kabul for his coronation which used to be an important event in the life

1. E. C. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 394.
2. R. S. Pandit, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., p. 619.
3. By C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 20.
4. As distinguished from the castle that was now Muslim.
5. C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 20.

of a Sahi king. The difference between the dates of accession and coronation is probably due to the time taken in negotiating with the Muslim ruler of Kabul for the purpose of coronation.

It is not necessary to presume that the eras connected with the accession (921) and the coronation (923) of Bhima were started immediately after the actual events. It is possible that they were started later in the reign when Bhima achieved much eminence and glory in North-West India especially because of his connections with Kira, Lohara, Kanauj and Kashmir.

A Unique Present From King of Kira

Circa A. D. 925

An important piece of Information about Bhima Sahi is available from an unexpected quarter. The Khajuraho stone inscription[1] of Dhanga of V. S. 1011=A. D. 954-55, which consists of 28 lines and contains 49 verses in fluent and correct Sanskrit, in its verse no. 43 (lines 24-25) gives an account of how the Chandalla king Yasovarman (*c.* 925-950 A. D.) had got the image of Vaikuntha[2] (=Vishnu) which was installed by him in an especially constructed temple mentioned in the previous verse. Unfortunately it has not been correctly translated so that full import of this has not come to light.

The original text and F. Kielhorn's English translation of the verse in question are as follows :

Text

कैलाशा(सा)द्भोटनाथः सुहृदिति च ततः की[25]रराजः प्रपेदे
साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगव(ब)लेनानु हेरम्ब(ब)पालः ।
तस्मूनोर्देवपालात्तमथ हयप[ति]: प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां
वैकुण्ठं कुण्ठितारिः क्षिति[धरति]लकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ।।[43]

English Translation

"(*The image of*) Vaikuntha (*which*) the ornament of princes, the illustrious king Yasovarman, who crushed his enemies, has set

1. *EI*, Vol. 1, pp. 122-135. For verse 43 (lines 24-25) see pp. 129 (text), 134 (Eng. tr.).
2. Vaikuntha is a synonym for Vishnu (*vide Vishnusahasranama-stotra*).

up (*here*)—the lord of Bhota obtained it from the Kailasa, and from him Sahi, the king of Kira, received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Herambapala obtained it for a force of elephants and horses, and (*Yasovarman himself*) received it from Devapala, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), the son of (Herambapala)".

The most glaring mistake in translation has been treating Kiraraja as an adjective of Sahi, though they are two independent personalities. All words must be of the same type according to syntax, but this was ignored in the present case. This prevented the Sahi contemporary of Herambapala from appearing in the picture at all. Also, *tasmat* (तस्मात्) and *anu* (अनु) should not go together; thus they indicate two parts of the sentence and should not refer to the same part. Thirdly, the words *suhrid* (सुहृद्) and *dvipaturagabalena* (द्विपतुरगबलेन) have been used to indicate contrast. It shows the different methods of getting the thing—either as a present or in lieu of something (*or* won by means of force). Fourthly, the word *Hayapati*, although freely and frequently used at that time as a title, may not be interpreted here as such, because the implication seems to be that there were other unnamed contenders for this image but Devapala could retain it for some time only because of his cavalry; also, that Devapala continued to be lord of horses like his father. Hence the word is meaningful here. Lastly, it may be noted that each of the kings mentioned, *viz.*, Bhotanatha, Kiraraja, Sahi (a king not recognised properly by translators so far), Herambapala, Devapala and Yasovarman, has something stated about him.

The Sahi king occurring in the Chandella inscription of A. D. 954-55 has not been mentioned by his proper name. Sahi was the dynastic title of a well-known powerful king, a reigning king at the time. He was at the height of his glory because of his matrimonial alliances. Hence it was not considered necessary to name him. This inscription of Khajuraho tells us that he was a contemporary of Herambapala (=the Gurjara-Pratihara king Mahipala, A. D. 912-944) and a worshipper of Vaikuntha or Vishnu. His Vaishnavism is known from the *Rajatarangini* (VI. 178, VII. 1082) as well.

An analysis of the verse indicates that there were altogether six transactions if we include Bhotanatha's getting the image from

(the) Kailasa and Devapala's inheriting it from his father as two separate transactions. Thus our translation, or better paraphrasing of the verse, with transaction numbers within brackets, is as follows :

Text

(1) कैलाशा(सा)द्भोटनाथः
(2) सुहृदिति च ततः की[25]रराजः प्रपेदे
(3) साहिस्तस्मादवाप
(4) द्विपतुरगव(ब)लेनानु हेरम्ब(ब)पालः ।
(5) [*Then there was a case of inheritance by his son Devapala Hayapati;*]
(6) तत्सूनोर्दैवपालात्तमथ हयप[ति]ः
प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठं
कुण्ठितारिः क्षिति[धरति]लकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ।।[43]

Meaning in English

The lord of Bhota (Tibet or a region inhabited by people of Tibetan race and language) obtained (the image of) Vaikuntha from (the) Kailasa (that is, the mountain bearing the name or the chief of the territory or a person having that name). From him the king of Kira received it as a token of friendship. The Sahi (the king well-known as Sahi or the king of the Sahi dynasty) received it from him. (From him, *i. e.*, Sahi) afterwards Herambapala (=Mahipala of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty) obtained it for a force of elephants and horses (*or* through the use of force composed of elephants and horses). His son Devapala, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), retained it till the illustrious king Yasovarman himself, the ornament of princes, who had crushed his enemies, received it from him. The last king set up the image (at Khajuraho in a beautiful temple described in the previous verse).

I fix the date of the transaction between Kiraraja and Sahi at *circa* A. D. 925 as this event took place probably in the earlier part of Sahi's reign.

The present which Sahi received from his friend the king of Kira, a small kingdom near Kashmir (*Raj.*, VIII. 2767), was

really unique. The image may be seen in the Vaishnava temple at Khajuraho variously known as the temple of Chaturbhuja or Ramachandra or Lakshmana. The central head of this four-armed, three-headed image of Vishnu is that of a man, while the other two are associated with the Nrisimha (the man-lion) and Varaha (the boar) incarnations of the deity.[1] It is very beautiful.

Was this idol, received from Kiraraja, kept at the Sahi capital Udabhandapura ? Or, was Bhima ambitious enough to found an independent temple town presumably to enshrine this precious image and attract people to it ?

Foundation of a Temple Town Bhimnagar or Nagarkot

Circa **A. D. 925**

Indications available in works of Muslim historians suggest that Bhima Sahi was the founder of a temple town variously called Bhimnagar and Nagarkot. The fort with a "large idol" that was conquered and plundered by Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1009 is known to Utbi[2] as Bhimnagar for which Firishta[3] uses the names of Nagarkot, Fort of Bhim, and Bhim. Thus, to us it appears, the complete name of the temple fort was Bhimanagarakotta or Bhimnagarkot with Bhimnagar, Nagarkot and Bhimkot (Fort of Bhim) as its abbreviations. Bhim (used by Firishta) is a further contraction of Bhimnagar or Bhimkot.

Firishta[4] supplies us with three important points that help us in the identification of the founder :

(i) "The fort, at that time denominated the Fort of Bhim,....."

(ii) "Bhim was built by a prince of the same name, on the top of a steep mountain, ..."

1. Kanwar Lal, *Immortal Khajuraho*, Delhi, 1965, p. 211 and plate 27.
2. Elliot, II, p. 34. The footnote gives various corrupt readings.
3. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 28.
4. *Ibid.*

(iii) "In Bhim were found.....pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bhim, the details of which would be tedious."

Muhammad Nazim[1], on the authority of Unsuri (p. 85), writes that Sultan Mahmud's spoils at Nagarkot included "a richly decorated throne reputed to be that of Raja Bhim of the Pandava Dynasty" This is still another association of Nagarkot with Bhima.

There is no doubt that the founder of Utbi's Bhimnagar and Firishta's Nagarkot and Fort of Bhima was Bhima. But who could this Bhima be ? Was he the one famous in the Mahabharata ? No, because Firishta, the only authority giving some detail, does not refer to the founder in that vein. From what we already know on the basis of Utbi and Firishta, we can say that Bhima, the founder of the temple town of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot,

(i) was an important king of the region, *i. e.*, North-West India;

(ii) was religious-minded;

(iii) flourished not long before Mahmud ; and

(iv) was self-conscious of his greatness.

All these things point to one person and to one person alone, and he is Bhima Sahi, the Vaishnava king of Udabhandapura of the tenth century A. D. Probably the Sahi king founded Bhimnagar in order to enshrine the image of Vaikuntha. Priests were appointed to look after the temple. A strong garrison was stationed. The town gradually became very flourishing and many treasures were accumulated because of the idol; for there came pilgrims from all sides to visit it.[2] The example of the idol of Multan called Aditya was before Bhima who might have taken inspiration from it.

1. P. 90.
2. Alberuni (I, p. 116) makes this remark in the context of Multan which proved to be true in the case of Nagarkot as well.

Not being satisfied with what he had done already for this temple town which was not situated at any traditional tirtha, Bhima established at Nagarkot (Bhimnagar) a mint-town as well. This hypothesis of ours is based on the letter N found on his coins and on Sultan Mahmud's finding "seventy thousand thousand *Shahiya* dirhams" at Nagarkot (Bhimnagar) in A. D. 1009 at the time of its plunder.

But where was this Bhimnagar or Nagarkot? It must have been situated in the kingdom of the founder. And we know that the kingdom of his successor, Jayapala, extended to the Chenab river. Thus this temple town was situated somewhere between the Indus and the Chenab.[1]

C. V. Vaidya[2] suggests that Bhimashah of Kabul founded the town Bhavan or Bhimnagar below Kot Kangra, but assigns no reason for this. We do not see any ground as to why Bhima should found a temple town outside his own kingdom[3]—a town that was a source of great income to the Sahi state.

Matrimonial Alliance with Lohara

Circa **A. D. 927**

One of the earliest events of the reign of Bhima was his daughter's marriage with King Simharaja of Lohara.

Lohara or Loharakotta, 'the Castle of Lohara', has played an important part in Kashmir history as the ancestral home and stronghold of the dynasty whose narrative fills the last two cantos of Kalhana's work. The term *kota* or *kotta* is used very frequently in the chronicle as an abbreviation for Loharakotta.

1. We have taken up the question of its identification later while treating the War of A. D. 1008-09 during the reign of Anandapala.
2. Vol. III, pp. 51, 55, 65. *Cf.* Elliot, II, p. 425 for a similar view of Reinaud.
3. The Kangra-Jalandhara region does not seeem to have formed part of the Shahiya empire as it was ruled by an independent local dynasty.

The credit for correctly identifying this place goes to M. A. Stein.[1] It is situated south-west of Srinagar in the valley of the Tohi, a tributary of the Jhelum. Close to it is the Tosamaidan Pass, which since earlier times to the present day has formed one of the most-frequented and best routes from the Western Punjab to Kashmir. The importance of this route and the easy communication thereby established, explains the close political relations of Lohara (mod. Loharin) with Udabhanda and Kashmir. We may also suppose that the ancient Loharakotta derived no small portion of its vaunted strength from the natural advantages of its situation.

The fact that Simharaja was, himself, married to a daughter of Bhima Sahi, the mighty ruler of Udabhanda and Kabul, as well as the marriage of Didda, the daughter of Simharaja, with King Kshemagupta of Kashmir, proves that the territory of Simharaja of Lohara could not have been restricted to the Loharin Valley alone. It probably comprised also other neighbouring valleys to the south of Pir Pantsal, such as Phullapura (situated in the vicinity of the castle, not yet identified), Attalika (mod. Atoli, situated close to the point where the valley of Loharin meets that of Gagri, some eight miles below Loharin proper), Attalikapana (mod. Mandi, situated at the actual junction of the two valleys just mentioned above), Savarnika (mod. Suran, a large village situated in the upper valley of the Prunts Tohi, its distance from Loharin being about two marches), Sadrun, perhaps also Parnotsa itself (mod. Punch or Prunts in the lower valley of the Tohi or Taushi, being on the great route to the Western Punjab).[2] There are at least two clear references that support the view that Lohara had under it several strongholds and adjoining territories. They are : VI. 176,

1. *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, Note E ('The Castle of Lohara'), pp. 293-300, hereinafter abbreviated as Stein's Note on Lohara. I have heavily drawn on this Note and notes on the relevant passages regarding the identification and extent of this kingdom.

2. On the basis of Stein. References to the text of the *Rajatarangini* are too numerous to be quoted here.

where Simharaja is called *durganam Loharadinam sasta* (दुर्गाणां लोहरादीनां शास्ता), 'the lord of Lohara and other strongholds', and VIII. 8, *Loharasambaddham mandalantaram* (लोहरसंबद्धं मण्डलान्तरम्), 'the separate territory dependent on Lohara', 'a separate principality the appanage of the fortress of Lohara' (R. S. Pandit)=Lohara and the adjoining territories. This not too small a kingdom had an old and respectable dynasty. Also, because of the Turkish menace, need might have been felt for alliance with strong neighbours.

From VI. 175 (where Simharaja, the chief of Lohara, has been called a 'Khasa ruler') and VII. 773 (where king Utkarsha, a direct descendant of Simharaja, is designated as a Khasa) it is clear that the ruling family of Lohara belonged to the Khasa tribe.

Simharaja was descended from king Nara of Darvabhisara (VII. 1282). His father Chanduraja "had two sons named Gopala and Simharaja" (VII. 1283). Of the two, Simharaja whose family continued seems to be the elder one. It was this Simharaja to whom Bhima Sahi gave his unnamed daughter in marriage (VI. 177-178). The Hindu Sahis of Udabhanda and the Khasas of Lohara were now allied. We do not know whether the Lohara king had any wife other than the Sahi princess.

In course of time "Simharaja had many sons (बहवात्मनः सिंहराजः) and a daughter called Didda who was given in marriage to king Kshemagupta"[1] (VII. 1284). Of the sons, two are named that are Udayaraja (VI. 287, 355; VII. 1285) and Kantiraja (VII. 1285) to whose descendants' account are devoted the last two cantos of Kalhana's work respectively.

That Simharaja had many sons is also proved by another statement of Kalhana who elsewhere says that before raising Sangramaraja to the rank of Yuvaraja, Queen Didda tested her nephews who were all children (VI. 356, सर्वान् शिशुप्रायान् भ्रातृसुतान्). As these nephews were of the same age, they were evidently sons of different brothers of Didda, which proves the point. The expression *sarvan bhratrisutan* (सर्वान् भ्रातृसुतान्) has been used in the plural number. Hence at

1. R. S. Pandit's translation which though not too literal has been preferred.

least three nephews (including Sangramaraja), being sons of Didda's three brothers, were there. One of the brothers was definitely Udayaraja, father of Sangramaraja who is the only contestant for Yuvarajaship named. The second brother might have been Kantiraja. The third brother was not the eldest one whose son cannot be a child at the time of the said selection contest. So he may be presumed to have been a brother younger than the two named above.

Kalhana provides indications in his chronicle which may enable us to look for the eldest of the four brothers of Didda (*or* the four sons of Simharaja) inferred from the *Rajatarangini* references :

King Vigraharaja of Lohara is called the father of Kshitiraja (VII. 251), the paternal uncle of king Ananta[1] (VII. 139, 251), the brother[2] of Sangramaraja (VII. 74), and the son of Didda's brother (VI. 335). While so many relatives of his are named, nowhere is his father's proper name indicated. Although, for the sake of convenience, Stein has shown Vigraharaja as the son of Udayaraja in his genealogical table facing the last page (p. 144) of his Introduction in Vol. I, he is not sure of the parentage of Vigraharaja : "We do not know whether he was a son of Udayaraja or another of Simharaja's numerous sons".[3] We very much admire the caution of Stein as we have come to the conclusion that Vigraharaja was the son of some unnamed son of Simharaja who (the unnamed son of Simharaja), according to our calculation, was the eldest son of Simharaja and born in *c.* A. D. 930 (two years after Didda). Our arguments for regarding Vigraharaja's unnamed father as the eldest son of Simharaja are as follows :—

1. Kalhana makes Simharaja father of several sons (VII. 1284, VI. 356 by implication) and introduces Vigraharaja as the son of Didda's brother (VI. 335) who for some reason or other is not named by the chronicler. Thus we have no difficulty from the side of Kalhana.

1. Ananta was the son of Sangramaraja (VII. 135, VIII. 3440).
2. *Cf.* Stein's note on VII. 251 regarding the use of *bhrata* (भ्राता) in the sense of cousin.
3. Stein's Note on Lohara (p. 294).

2. Vigraharaja rebelled twice (VI. 335-347, VII. 139-141) against Kashmir to whose throne he was a pretender. Why was he doing it and that repeatedly and with seriousness (*cf.* his intrigues, VI. 343-345, VII. 74) ? This may tend to prove that he was the son of the eldest son of Simharaja and hence wanted the throne of Kashmir for himself.

3. The most important argument which we would offer is that Vigraharaja appeared as a pretender (VI. 335-340) at the very beginning of Didda's reign (A. D. 980/1-1003). This might have taken place in 980-81 or 982 A. D. He is called *nripa* (VI. 335) which means that he had ascended the throne of Lohara after the death of his unnamed father. He must have been 25 or so at that time. Thus he could not have been the brother of Sangramaraja, one of whose children, Ananta, was born in A. D. 1020 (VII. 452, 484).

4. It was, we are persuaded to think, because of his already having become king of Lohara, rebellion against Didda, and being fairly aged (contrast VI. 356) that Vigraharaja was not selected as the Yuvaraja of Kashmir by Queen Didda. Sangramaraja fitted into the scheme, because he was sufficiently younger (VI. 356).

Thus we are in a position to say that Simharaja had at least four sons that are inferrable from Kalhana's references if carefully pieced together.

The daughter of Simharaja and Bhima Sahi's unnamed daughter was Didda (VI. 176-177, 304; VII. 1284). Thus Didda was Sahi's daughter's daughter (VI. 177) and the illustrious Bhima Sahi[1] was the maternal grandfather of this lady (VI. 178). She seems to be the eldest child of her parents. A hint at this position is provided by VI. 356 where old Didda calls her nephews who are all children. She was much benefited by her father. "Under her father she had received ample training in diplomacy and statesmanship".[2] Hence

1. This Bhima Sahi, as may be expected, is known to Kalhana as belonging to Udabhandapura (VII. 1081).
2. R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819* (Delhi, 1969), p. 63.

she showed utmost regard to him. Much later, in A. D. 972-73, under the name of her father, Simharaja, she erected (VI. 304) the illustrious shrine of Vishnu Simhasvamin (VI. 304), also known as Simharajasvamin (VIII. 1822), at Lohara, and a *matha*, called Simharajamatha (VI. 304, VII. 1568), at Srinagar near Vijayesvara, for the residence of foreign Brahmanas.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that Didda was lame (VI. 226, 276, 308, 328; VIII. 419, 3388) and a porter-woman used to carry about on her back the lame queen at games which required running (VI. 308).

Let us now revert to the early part of the reign of Bhima Sahi.

Loss of Vaikuntha Image

Sahi could not retain the Vaikuntha image for a long time.

Because of some military plan[1] or calamity or disaster not known to us he required some force (war elephants and war horses). Who was able to part with some of his forces *at any price whatsoever* ? The Pratihara king Mahipala, also known as Kshitipala, Vinayakapala and Herambapala[2], was the only person capable of doing it at the time, as he was known as a great conqueror. Also, the Pratiharas of Kanauj were then widely noted for their cavalry. Thus Sulaiman, the Arab traveller, referring to Mihira Bhoja says that "no other prince has so fine a cavalry."[3] Again, according to the Chatsu (Jaipur district) stone inscription of Baladitya,[4] his great-grandfather Harsharaja, a Guhilaputra (Guhilot) prince, presented horses to Bhoja, perhaps because of the latter's fondness for them. Similarly the Gwalior epigraph speaks of the "best cavalry" in charge of the feudatories of Ramabhadra. The occurrence of the term *Hayapati* for Devapala

1. We have made a hypothesis in this connection in the following section.
2. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 259.
3. Elliot, Vol. I, p. 4.
4. Edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, *EI*, 12, pp. 10-17. For a summary see *DHNI*, II, pp. 1197-1200, 1208 (genealogical table).

Pratihara in the Chandella inscription probably indicates that the Pratiharas continued to enjoy among their contemporaries a reputation for maintaining an excellent cavalry, and as such were regarded "lords of horses" *par excellence*, although they did not, like the Gahadavalas who used the epithet Asvapati, adopt it as an official title in their records.[1]

And so it was that Bhima Sahi had to part with his precious possession presumably for making some important conquest or preserving the integrity of his state. He gave the Vaikuntha image to Herambapala (Mahipala) and got a force of elephants and horses for himself.

The text of the Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga of V. S. 1011 (A. D. 954-55) (verse 43) is capable of another interpretation also as indicated above by us (within brackets). But it will be too fantastic to accept the view that Mahipala crossed several independent kingdoms and the rivers of the Punjab intervening between his own dominions and Udabhanda situated on the western bank of the Indus river to defeat Sahi for taking the Vaikuntha image from him. Hence we reject this view outright.

Conquest of Urasa

Circa A. D. 935

In the seventh century A. D. Kashmir was the suzerain of Takshasila, Simhapura (Salt Range) and Urasa (Hazara district of North-West Frontier Region). The Hindu Shahiyas being the inheritors of the dominions of Kapisa (later Kabul) and Kashmir in the plain area of the Indus basin, it was now clear that Urasa was the only kingdom that had not accepted the above-mentioned claim of the new suzerain. Earlier kings of the dynasty were either busy or weak. But the ambitious Bhima Sahi must have taken this insult to heart. There were favourable circumstances before him. His capital Udabhandapura was near Urasa. Lohara was his ally because

1. Points regarding the Pratiharas' fame for cavalry have been taken from R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 258, where necessary references may be found.

of his daughter's marriage with its Khasa king. Kashmir was being ruled by a weak monarchy and was a prey to dissensions and ambitions of all kinds of people. Hence Bhima made a plan for the conquest of the neighbouring state of Urasa.

In the meantime, it appears, there arose some unexpected situation, *e. g.*, an invasion of the Turushkas or of the Darads, that upset his plan completely. In spite of probable help from Lohara, Bhima found that his resources were inadequate. So he had to make a supreme sacrifice by exchanging force for the idol of Vaikuntha.

He succeeded in his mission. With the elephantry and cavalry that he got from Herambapala of Kanauj, he drove away the old enemy who had invaded him suddenly, and attacked and conquered Urasa. The small kingdom now formed part of the dominions of Bhima the Conqueror (*Jeta*).

Despite the fact that there were favourable circumstances for the Sahi king, we would not have ordinarily made any hypothesis about Bhima's conquest of Urasa. But we have four strong arguments in our favour :

1. Kalhana is silent about Urasa for the period A. D. 902 to the middle of the eleventh century, although Urasa being so close to Kashmir, we would have expected relations between the two of some kind or other. What may be the possible reason of this ? In our opinion, the silence is because Urasa had been conquered by the Sahis and had formed part of their kingdom till its absorption by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in the beginning of the eleventh century ; when the Ghaznavid dominions were ruled by Mahmud's weak successors, Urasa somehow or other managed to become independent sometime in the middle of the sixth decade[1] of the eleventh century. When Kalhana breaks his silence about

1. The sixth decade was particularly a period of weakness and misrule for the Ghaznavids. Hence we have suggested this for the recovery of independence by Urasa. This fits in well with the chronology of the *Rajatarangini*.

Urasa, he traces relations between this kingdom and Kashmir from the end of the reign of Ananta (A. D. 1028-1063) to that of Jayasimha (A. D. 1128-1149) and mentions the following kings[1] :

(i) Vairin[2] (VII. 221).

(ii) Abhaya (VII. 586), king of Urasa (VII. 585). His daughter Vibhavamati was married to Bhoja, son of King Harsha of Kashmir, and had Bhikshachara as son (VIII. 16).

(iii) Sankata (*vv. ll.* Sangata, Mungaja) (VII. 589). He was one of the eight kings that attended the assembly of hill *rajas* at the capital of Kalasa (A. D. 1063-1089) in A. D. 1087/8 (VII. 587) in the winter season (VII. 592). An invasion of Urasa by Kashmir is noted (VIII. 574) without naming the king of the former.

(iv) Dvitiya (VIII. 3402). His defeat is the last event recorded by Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini*. Hence its probable date may be A. D. 1149/50 (VIII. 3404).

2. Urasa is "the ancient name of Pakhli"[3]; and "coins..... of the Hindu Shahis have been discovered in Pakhli".[4] This may not be accidental, but as a result of continued Hindu Shahi rule in that area.

1. Details have been omitted as they are not required here.
2. Altogether three foreign expeditions were carried out by Ananta who invaded Champa (VII. 218), Vallapura (VII. 220) and Urasa (VII. 221). As the kings of the first two territories have been named by Kalhana, I have taken Vairin mentioned in the context of Urasa as a proper name treating it as the name of the Urasa king. This is also because, generally speaking, Urasa kings had peculiar names, *e. g.*, Sankata and Dvitiya below. In my opinion, it was Vairin who liberated Urasa from Muslim yoke in *c.* A. D. 1055.
3. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 13, new edn., Oxford, 1908, p. 76.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

3. In the reign of Anandapala, we find Gakhars from the north fighting in favour of the Sahi king in the great battle of the Chhachh plain in A. D. 1009. What may have been the reason? To us it appears that the Gakhars of the Hazara district[1] and the adjoining areas fought against Mahmud because they were under the Sahis. If it is so, we may presume that they came under the Sahis in the reign of Bhima as his successor Jayapala had too many other problems to engage his attention.

4. There is no reference to any direct clash between Urasa and Sultan Mahmud. But we find this region included in the map of the Sultan's empire (*vide* map in Muhammad Nazim). Hence we conclude that Mahmud got it as the successor of the Sahi dominions. Thus it was some Sahi ruler like Bhima who had conquered it and annexed to the Sahi kingdom.

The date of Bhima's conquest of Urasa would be somewhere between A. D. 935 and 937, because Mahipala, from whom the Sahi king took help, was free from Rashtrakuta invasions during this period, and by the date suggested above he might have completed his *digvijaya* and earned reputation for his military power (द्विपतुरगबल).

Matrimonial Alliance with Kashmir

Circa A. D. 943

The Khasa ruler (VI. 175), King Simharaja, the lord of Lohara and other strongholds, gave his daughter Didda in marriage to Kshemagupta (VI. 176, VII. 1284, VIII. 3437-3439), son of Parvagupta (VI. 150, VIII. 1956). In our opinion this event took place in *circa* A. D. 943, when she was fifteen years old; and in the following year was born Abhimanyu, son of Didda and Kshemagupta (VI. 188, VIII. 3437).

It is generally held[2] that the marriage between Kshemagupta and Didda took place in the reign of the former (A. D. 950-958).

1. It has been gathered that the non-plain "parts of the modern District [of Hazara] were held by the same Gakhars who played so prominent a part in the history of Rawalpindi" (*ibid.*, p. 76).
2. Cunningham, *CMI*, p. 45, fn. 21; H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 130.

This seems to be erroneous, because if Kshemagupta had been married soon after his accession in 950, his son Abhimanyu who died in 972 was born in 951. Thus it is not possible for him to have three sons in a short life of 21 years.

The clue to the solution of this problem is available at an unexpected place in the *Rajatarangini*. Speaking about the third important event[1] (Mahiman's rebellion) of the first of the two well-defined parts[2] of Abhimanyu's reign, Kalhana says (VI. 211): "At an earlier time, when Parvagupta was aiming at the crown, he had married two daughters to the ministers Chhoja and Bhubhata, who had taken [with him] the oath by sacred libation." This oath-taking is referred to by the chronicler in V. 422-423 at the beginning of the reign of Unmattavanti (A. D. 937-939). It was since the days of Unmattavanti that Parvagupta had been intriguing to seize the crown. Thus it may reasonably be supposed that Parvagupta married his daughters to the above-noted ministers sometime in 937-939 A. D. Another point supporting this hypothesis of ours is that Mahiman and Patala, the two sons who were born of these (VI. 212), were aged enough to rise in rebellion at the beginning of the reign of Abhimanyu (A. D. 958-972). Also, Mahiman, son of Chhoja, was married and his father-in-law, Saktisena, has been named (VI. 216-217). Another son of Parvagupta named Devagupta (V. 437-438) has also been mentioned in the reign of Unmattavanti (A. D. 937-939). Thus the date of the marriage of Parvagupta's elder son Kshemagupta cannot be far removed from A. D. 937-939. Hence it may be 943 as suggested by us and cannot be 950 or so. We may suppose that as Parvagupta was very influential in the Kashmir State. Simharaja of Lohara might have

1. The two other events were a terrible conflagration at Srinagar and the ousting of Phalguna from prime ministership.
2. The sixtieth anniversary of the accession of Gôpalavarman (r. 902-904 A. D.) that fell on 31 January 962, if counted from the death of his father Sankaravarman, marks the dividing line between the two parts (*Raj.*, VI. 256-257). Strangely enough, this important date has escaped the notice of scholars.

liked the idea of giving his daughter Didda in marriage to the elder son of Parvagupta who later seized the Kashmir crown for himself (r. A. D. 949-950) and his family (A. D. 950-1003).

This matrimonial alliance considerably increased the influence of Didda's maternal grandfather Bhima Sahi in the Kashmir State.

Erection of Bhima-Kesava Temple in Kashmir

Circa **A. D. 955**

It is an indication of Bhima Sahi's power that he erected a temple bearing his name in the adoptive country of his granddaughter. This shrine of Bhima-Kesava must also have been richly endowed. This is evident from the interesting story which Kalhana relates (VII. 1081 *sqq.*) of the rich treasure of gold and jewels confiscated there by King Harsha more than a century later.[1]

The credit for identifying the Bhima-Kesava temple erected by Bhima Sahi, king of the Kabul Region and Gandhara, the maternal grandfather of Queen Didda, in the reign of her husband Kshemagupta (A. D. 950-958), goes to M. A. Stein.[2] It was he who recognised Bhima Sahi's shrine in the ancient temple found at Bumazu, about one mile to the north of the sacred springs of Martanda (Bavan), and on the left bank of the Lidar river, now converted into the Muslim ziarat of Baba Bamadin Sahib. His arguments[3] are as follows :

1. Besides the great Tirthas, there is scarcely a village in Kashmir which has not its sacred spring or grove for the Hindu and its ziarat for the Muslim. Established as the latter shrines almost invariably are, by the side of the Hindu places of worship

1. This paragraph has been taken from Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VI. 177-178.
2. *Vide* his paper 'Zur Geschichte der Sahis von Kabul' contributed to the *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doctor-Jubilaeum*, 1893, Stuttgart, pp. 195-202. Summarised in his *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VI. 177-178 and Vol. II, p. 465. Our analysis of his arguments is based on the latter work.
3. The arrangement and numbering are ours.

and often with the very stones taken from them, they plainly attest the abiding nature of local worship in Kashmir. The temple of Bhima also was similarly converted into a Muslim ziarat, and covered inside and outside with a thick coating of plaster which prevents a close examination of the details.[1]

2. A recollection of the original character of the building survives in the local tradition, which relates that the saint, who had built this shrine for himself, was originally a Hindu ascetic (Skt. *sadhu*, *sad* in Kashmiri language) and bore before his conversion to Islam the name of 'Bhuma Sadhi'. It is easy to recognise in this name an adaptation of Bhima Sahi[2].

3. Also the name of the locality Bumazu which the *Martanda-mahatmya* renders by Bhimadvipa, is clearly derived from the old name of the shrine. Bhima (Kashmiri *Buma*)[3] is an abbreviation of Bhima-Kesava to which Kashmiri *zu*, 'island', has been added with reference to the several islands formed here by the Lidar immediately in front of the hamlet. It is not connected with the worship of Bhimadevi in any way.[4]

Bhima Sahi was the king of the Kabul Region and Gandhara. Why did he then choose to construct a temple in Kashmir ? Probable reasons that strike us are :

1. By combining *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 367 and Vol. I, p. 249 (note on VI. 177-178). For an accurate description of the temple see Bishop W.G. Cowie's paper, 'Notes on some of the temples of Kashmir, especially those not described by General A. Cunningham, in his essay published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*', in *JASB*, 1866, pp. 100 *sqq.*
2. *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, pp. 249-250 (note on VI. 177-178); Vol. II, p. 465.
3. Kalhana refers to a village Bhimatika (VII. 6). According to Stein, "the name Bhimatika probably survives in that of Bumai, a large village in" Kashmir (note on VII. 6). This provides another example of Bhima=Buma or Bumai.
4. *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, p. 250 (note on VI. 177-178); Vol. II, p. 465.

1. Kashmir was the country of his daughter's daughter Didda whom he loved immensely. It appears he went there frequently. So he decided to construct a temple there. Also, probably Didda might have requested him for this and it was certainly difficult not to accede to her request.

2. Kashmir has from early times to the present day been a land abundantly endowed with holy sites and objects of pilgrimages. Kalhana duly emphasises this fact when he speaks in I. 38 of Kashmir as a country where "there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum without a Tirtha."[1] Bhima wanted to contribute his own mite to it.

3. He thought that Kashmir was a mountain-girt country and would be able to resist onslaughts of Islam for a longer period than the Sahi dominions. He had found that parts of north-west Indian borderland were gradually passing into Islamic hands. Those who erect temples want that they (temples) may survive till eternity. Hence it was that Bhima made up his mind to erect a temple in Kashmir and richly endow it.

After making up his mind that he should erect a temple in Kashmir, he had to decide upon a suitable site for the purpose. An area noted for temples was found out for this, and the site selected was one mile to the north of the famous Martanda temple that annually attracts crowds of visitors from all parts of India even today. It was about one mile below Hutamar (Saktamatha) whose chief mosque is built with the remains of a Hindu temple. Some sacred spots are found quite close to the Sahi temple.

The nomenclature of sacred buildings in Kashmir is an interesting study. Vishnu-shrines, Siva-temples, *mathas*, and Buddhist monasteries are named after their founders. The names of Vishnu-temples are regularly formed by adding the term *Kesava*[2] or *svamin* to the name of the person who built the shrine ; comp., *e. g.*,

1. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 367.
2. Kesava (I. 38, IV. 508, V. 25) as a name of Vishnu was current and popular in Kashmir

Bhima-Kesava (VI. 178, VII. 1082) (erected by Bhima Sahi), *Parihasa-Kesava* (several references in IV, VII and VIII), *Mukta-Kesava* (IV. 196, 201), *Kamala-Kesava* (IV. 208), *Amrita-Kesava* (IV. 659), *Gopala-Kesava* (V. 244), [*Nanda-*] *Kesava* (V. 245). *Bhima-Kesava* must be explained as a *madhyamapadalopi* compound, by *Bhimena nirmita Kesava*, 'the (temple of) Kesava or Vishnu, built by Bhima (Sahi)'. The system of nomenclature, which was regularly followed in Kashmir in naming new foundations, must have helped to preserve a genuine tradition regarding the founder.[1]

Thus it was that the temple of Vishnu (also called *Bhima*, *Kesava*, *Jeta* and *Ishta* in the *Vishnusahasranamastotra*), who was the *Ishta* (*deva*) of Bhima the Conqueror (*Jeta*), was erected in the country of his daughter's daughter ; and this fact was remembered for a long time by posterity.

The date of the construction of the Bhima-Kesava temple is not known. We fix *c.* A D. 955 for this.

Kalhana tells us a curious anecdote regarding the fate of Bhima Sahi's temple (VII. 1081 *sqq.*). On account of a quarrel among the members of the Purohita corporation it was locked up for a long time (*chiram*, VII. 1082) in the reign of Kalasadeva (A. D. 1063–1089). After a few years the greedy Harsha (A. D. 1089-1101) confiscated the great treasures with which it had been endowed.

Epigraphical Material

Only one inscription of Bhima is known to us. This inscription is engraved on a small rectangular slab of stone which is badly broken and cracked in two pieces on the front or inscribed face. It was found by Major Deane at Dewai, Gadun territory, and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum. The stone is complete on three sides, but broken at the top and consists of four lines in Sarada characters and in the Sanskrit language. The extant portion of

1. This paragraph is based on Stein's *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, notes on I. 106 and III. 263, and Vol. II, pp. 368-369 and fn. 85 on p 369. Examples of names of Vaishnava temples ending in *Kesava* have been added by ourselves.

the inscription is well preserved except for the loss of one letter in the middle of the first line.

The inscription was edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 21, pp. 298-299, by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni.

The text and English translation are given below :—

Text

1 श्रीकल[क].. लवर्मोद्भव-

2 गदाहस्तपरममटार-

3 कमहाराजाधिराजपर-

4 मेश्वरसाहिश्रीमोमदे[व] [॥*]

Translation

"The supreme sovereign, superior king of great kings and supreme lord the Sahi, the illustrious Bhimadeva, who holds the mace in his hand and is sprung from the illustrious Kala [Kama] lavarman."

There is another inscription (*EI*, 21, 299-300) which is badly damaged. The fragmentary white marble slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered by Major Deane in November 1894 at a place called Ranigat and is now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 25-A). It is inscribed in the Sarada script and in the Sanskrit language. It consists of four lines in which portions of four Sanskrit verses have survived. Being badly damaged, this inscription at present adds little to our knowledge of the history of the territory in which it has been found.

The last line of the first verse which is given in line 2 of the inscription is :

——ज्ञु ँनोज्ञु ँन इव प्रथितप्रताप[:*] [॥]

We feel tempted to suggest that the line contains a direct reference to Bhima, the Sahi king. Bhima was fond of comparing himself with the Mahabharata heroes as his designation *Gadahasta* (गदाहस्त) found in his inscription indicates. Also, synonyms are frequently used in Sanskrit. Consequently, we restore the line as

ज्येष्ठाज्ञु ँनोऽज्ञु ँन इव प्रथितप्रताप: [॥],

that is, "Bhima (lit. 'the elder brother of Arjuna') whose prowess was well-known like that of Arjuna." Had the original Bhima (of the Mahabharata fame) been meant, there was absolutely no necessity of comparing him with his younger brother in prowess !

If our suggestion is accepted, this may be regarded as the second known inscription of Bhima Sahi.

Coins

The coins of Bhima are plentifully found in Kabulistan, but rarely in the Punjab.[1]

He is found continuing the two types of recumbent humped bull and horseman and elephant and lion.

His silver and copper coins respectively weigh 50 and 24 grains. No Sahi ruler issued gold coins.

Bhima was the last Sahi king to issue coins, because no coins of his successors have so far been found.

Date of Death

The date of the death of Bhima Sahi is not known. We suggest *c.* A. D. 960 on the following ground.

The reign of Abhimanyu (A.D. 958-972), son of Didda, of Kashmir, is conveniently though unevenly divided into two parts by the sixtieth anniversary (VI. 257) of [the death of Sankaravarman and] the accession of [his son] Gopalavarman (r. 902-904 A.D.) that fell on 31 January 962 (VI. 256-257). According to Kalhana the following events took place during the first part of Abhimanyu's reign, *i e.*, from 22 December 958 to 31 January 962 (a period of 3 years 1 month and 9 days) :

(i) A terrible conflagration (Date not indicated— 'In the reign of Abhimanyu', अभिमन्यौ क्षितिं रक्षति, VI. 190).

(ii) Phalguna's ouster from prime ministership (Date-soon after the death of the king's father Kshemagupta as reference to the

1. *JRAS*. 1848, p. 181. Elliot, Vol. II (Alig. edn.), p. 426. Cunningham, *CMI*, pp. 64-65. C. V. Vaidya, *HMHI*, Vol. III, p. 65. L. Gopal, ***Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India***, p. 32.

taking of his bones to the Ganges is made in VI. 200; probable date – December 958 and January-March 959 A. D.).

(iii) Mahiman's rebellion (Date—sometime in 959 A. D. or the early part of 960 A. D.). After this, it appears, elapsed some time as it is stated : " and the rule of the widow became undisputed in the land". The last event was

(iv) Commander-in-chief Yasodhara's expedition against Sahi Thakkana and Didda's dissatisfaction against Yasodhara that ultimately developed into a general rising against Didda : quick extermination of enemies by the angry Didda by 31 January 962 A.D. (Date – the entire event took place in 961 and January 962 A. D.).

Here the last event is of much utility for us. It is stated that the commander-in-chief undertook an expedition against the Sahi ruler (Sahisa, शाहीश, VI. 230) Thakkana and captured him by force. "He took tribute from that king, who did homage, and watered afresh the creeper of Fame with the water [sprinkled] at the inauguration ceremony (*abhisheka*)" (VI. 232). From the fact that the Sahi dominions, so friendly sometime ago, were invaded in 961 and from the mention of the *abhisheka* of Thakkana at this time which presumes the death of the previous Sahi ruler, it may safely be concluded that Bhima Sahi died in 960 A. D. and that his death led to some succession war.

CHAPTER V

JAYAPALA

A.D. 960-1002

If Alberuni's list[1] of the Hindu Shahiya kings be regarded as exhaustive[2], Bhima Sahi was succeeded by Jayapala. The exact relationship between the two is not known to scholars.[3]

Name and Epithets

The Bari Kot inscription of the reign of Jayapaladeva[4] found on a hill to the north of Bari Kot in Upper Swat and now preserved in the Lahore Museum (No. 119) mentions the name of the reigning king as *Sri-Jayapaladeva* in line 2 with the following epithets that precede it :

(i) *Paramabhattaraka* (परममट्टारक),

(ii) *Maharajadhiraja* (महाराजाधिराज), and

(iii) *Parameswara* (परमेश्वर).

Continuity of Line

When the Sahi studies were in their infancy, it was believed[5] that Jayapala was the starter of a new family or dynasty, because first, he and his successors unlike the earlier kings had names ending in *pala*, and secondly, the relationship between Bhima and Jayapala was not known. A careful study of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Alberuni's *India* and other Muslim sources convinced the later

1. Tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.
2. We regard it as such.
3. But we have made a suggestion about it later.
4. *EI*, 21, p. 301.
5. *E.g.*, by Sir H. M. Elliot (*History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 425-426), Dr. Edward C. Sachau (*Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, Annotations, pp. 393-394) and Major-General Sir A. Cunningham (*Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 62).

scholars[1] that Jayapala had been a member of the old dynasty established by Kallar-Lalliya and not the founder of a new family called the Pala dynasty. Both Alberuni (tr. Sachau, II, p. 13) and Kalhana (*Raj.*, VII. 65-69, VIII. 3230) have clearly indicated that the kings from Kallar (Lalliya) to Tarojanapala (Trilochanapala) and Bhimapala belonged to one dynasty and that they commanded respect in the writers' respective times. Also, they had the appellation *Shah* in Muslim chronicles[2]. It may further be shown that the use of titles was arbitrary, and any conclusion based on it may not be dependable. The best example is supplied by the Chandella dynasty which had *varman* at the beginning (Yasovarman), adopted *pala* after some reigns (Vijayapala), and reverted to *varman* soon after (from Devavarman onwards).

Parentage

Unfortunately, only one source, Firishta of the early seventeenth century, gives out the name of Jayapala's father, but even that is not free from confusion and corruption. Briggs' translation (Vol. I, pp. lxiii, 9) calls him Hutpal, but the lithographed text has Ishtapal[3]. To us, it seems that the name Hutpal or Ishtapal has concealed in itself the name that was current at the time. Let us make an attempt to find it out.

In our opinion the name may be restored in the following manner :—

Hutpal
Jutpal } may be written in the Arabo-Persian script with very little difference.
Jetpal

=Jetripala (जेतृपाल) in Sanskrit.

1. Like M. A. Stein, C. V. Vaidya, Muhammad Habib, Muhammad Nazim and H. C. Ray.
2. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, pp. 135-136. Isami uses terms like *Shah-i-Hindustan* (verse 684) and *Shah-i-Kabul* (verse 1102) which in our opinion are significant. Muhammad Nazim (pp. 204-206) has shown that *Shah* was the special title used for Trilochanapala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty.
3. See lithographed Lucknow Ed. (1864), Vol. I, p. 19 ; Bombay Ed. (1831), Vol. I, p. 32; Elliot, Vol. II, p. 425, fn. 3.

Bhima Sahi was a staunch Vaishnava[1]. It is possible that he might have interpreted his name in favour of Vishnu and not Siva[2]. It is understandable because of two reasons: First, the name Bhima-Kesava in that case becomes doubly Vaishnavistic; secondly, Bhima Sahi was anxious to compare himself with the Bhima of the Mahabharata fame as his epithet *Gadahasta*[3] seems to indicate, and the Pandavas were devout followers of Kesava or Krishna. Bhima and Jetri both referring to Vishnu are synonyms. Hence Jetri might have been another name of Bhima; and this alternative name reached Firishta in the form of Jetpal, pal (=pala in Sanskrit) having been added after the imitation of the later Sahi rulers.

Two situations are in favour of this hypothesis of ours. First, generally, the kings of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty as given by Alberuni are related as father and son except Samand, the second in a list of eight. Hence it is probable that Bhima and Jayapala also are related as father and son. Secondly, the age group also supports this theory. For example, Bhima according to ourselves was born in *c.* 892 A. D. Jayapala died at an advanced age in 1002 A. D. and so might have been born sometime between 925 and 935 A. D. Thus the probability of their relationship as father and son increases. Some scholars[4] have already assumed this relationship though without advancing any specific reasons. There are other scholars who pinned their hopes on Ishtapal (an alternative reading in Firishta's text) because a king of the Sahi family was believed to have existed on the basis of coins bearing the name

1. *Cf.* his erection of the Bhima-Kesava temple in the land of his daughter's daughter.
2. Bhima stands for both according to the Sanskrit dictionary.
3. In his Dewai Stone Inscription (*EI*, 21, p. 299).
4. *E. g.*, Muhammad Nazim, p. 195, fn. 2: "Al-Biruni, ii, 13, mentions the name of Jaipal after that of Bhim in the list of the Hindushahiyya Rajas, which implies that Jaipal was the successor of Bhim, and most probably his son."

Sri Ashatapaladeva.[1] These hopes have turned out to be dupes, because those coins are now ascribed to a chief of Chamba (Champa) "in spite of the slight difference in the spelling of the name."[2] We venture to explain Ishtapala also in the same manner as above in the case of Jetripala, because *Ishta* (इष्ट) also, like *Jeta* (जेता), is a synonym for Vishnu[3].

Chronology

We were in a worse position with regard to the known data in respect of the early Hindu Shahiya rulers, because the known materials were few and far between. Happily, because of the availability of more sources, we are in a far better position with regard to the later Hindu Shahiya kings. Analysing them carefully and applying the usual historical principles of generations, age of marriage and child-birth and interval between child-births, we may be enabled to find out the almost exact dates of the birth, accession and death of these kings and also chronological points about their children.

So far we have been able to collect the following data that may help in fixing the dates of the later Sahi kings and their children :—

1. Firishta refers to the frequent invasion of the provinces of Multan and Lamghan by Subuktigin who was yet a general of Alptigin on whom the government of Ghazni had devolved, and the concerted measures that Jayapala took in this connection (Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 5-6). Alptigin died on 13 September 963.[4] Hence the date of Jayapala's accession would fall before this.

2. A remarkable point which impresses us is that great attachment existed among the members of the Sahi family, and

1. See H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 102 for this king's coin. Ray regards him as "not identified."
2. Smith, *CCIMC*, p. 245. Compare *Raj.*, VII. 588 (mentions Asata of Champa).
3. *Vide Vishnusahasranamastotra.*
4. Muhammad Nazim, p. 26.

princes are found commanding armies in the absence of the father or as his helpers ; they did so even at an advanced age (*e. g.*, Anandapala) or at a comparatively young age (*e. g.*, Bhima the Fearless) according to the circumstances. This was noted by Cunningham as well who says : ".....the Shahi of Kabul had a grown-up son between 964 and 973, who accompanied the rebel Lawik, and was defeated by Subuktigin at Charkh, in the Lohgarh Valley, between Kabul and Ghazni" (*CMI*, p. 60).

3. Some references to sons and grandsons are available when defeat of the Sahis or terms of treaties between the Sahis and the Yaminis are being referred to. This indicates the advanced age of the reigning king on the Sahi side.

4. Approximate dates of the death of the four later Sahi kings are available unlike those of the earlier ones :

(a) Jayapala : died sometime after the famous battle fought on 27 November 1001 A. D. (*i. e.*, in A. D. 1002). He died at an advanced age (Utbi, p. 158).

(b) Anandapala : died sometime before Mahmud marched his army against the fort of Nindoona in the year A. H. 404 (A. D. 1013) (Briggs, I, p. 31).

(c-d) Trilochanapala "was killed A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021), and his son Bhimapala five years later (A. D. 1026)" (Sachau, II, p. 13).

5. Trilochanapala married his son Bhimapala to the daughter of Chand Rai of Sharwa which event took place before the first Doab invasion of Sultan Mahmud (1018-19 A. D.).

6. From the *Rajatarangini* account of the numerous Sahi princes who became important at the court of Kashmir, it may safely be concluded that Trilochanapala had more than one son.

7. Kalhana says that Bimba, who was a daughter-in-law of Tunga and a Sahi princess (सुता शाहेः, VII. 103), evidently a daughter of Trilochanapala Sahi according to the context, entered the fire as a *sati* four days after the disorder caused by the murders of Tunga and her husband Kandarpasimha had ceased. Earlier (VII. 98) he gives the date of Tunga's murder as the twelfth day of

the bright half of Ashadha ; the year is not indicated. If the battle of the Taushi described earlier (VII. 47-69, esp. 49-65) was fought in the early part of 1014 A. D., Tunga was murdered on 1 July 1015 and the Sahi princess committed suicide on 5 July 1015 A. D.

8. Farrukhi (f. 16 b) says that among the prisoners of war after the battle on the River Ruhut in which Trilochanapala Sahi had been badly defeated by Sultan Mahmud, there were two wives and two daughters of Trilochanapala.[1] Muhammad bin Mansur (f. 184 b) also refers to such a woman prisoner of war[2] after Mahmud's victory at the said battle.

On the basis of the known data Indicated above, we propose the following chronology for the later Sahis :

c. 930 Jayapala born.
c. 932 Thakkana born.
c. 950 Anandapala born.
c. 970 Trilochanapala born.
c. 972 Sukhapala born.
c. 990 Bhimapala born.
c. 992 Another (unnamed) son of Trilochanapala born.
c. 994 Bimba born.
c. 996, *c.* 998 } Two other daughters of Trilochanapala born.

Division of Reign

The reign of Jayapala may be divided into four uneven parts[3] :

1. *c.* 960—963 (13 September) : from the accession of Jayapala, king of Kabul and Gandhara (Udabhandapura), to the death of Alptigin (880/1-963), Amir of Ghazni.

2. 963 (13 September)—977 (20 April) : from the death of Alptigin, Amir of Ghazni, to the accession of Subuktigin (942/3-997),

1. Quoted by Nazim, p. 95, fn. 5.
2. Relevant portion translated into English in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 12, 1938, p. 231.
3. The basis of this division is the nature of the sources.

Amir of Ghazni, and son-in-law of the aforesaid Amir.

3. 977 (20 April)—997 (August) : from the accession of Subuktigin, Amir of Ghazni, to his death.

4. 997 (August)—*c.* 1002 : from the death of Subuktigin, Amir of Gahzni, to the death of Jayapala, king of Eastern Gandhara and the Punjab.

Succession Trouble

From the episode of Thakkana Sahi given in the *Rajatarangini* (VI. 230-236) and the existence of chiefs claiming descent from Bhima Sahi as pointed out by Hodivala[1], it may be presumed that the succession from Bhima to Jayapala was not very smooth. This part is obscure. But let us try to make it as clear as possible on the basis of some reasonable hypotheses.

Before we give our conclusion, it is fair to place the two premises before our readers so that they may also judge the issue in their own way.

Let us first take up the evidence furnished by the *Rajatarangini* (VI. 230-236) :

Once[2] Yasodhara, the commander-in-chief of Abhimanyu, out of respite, together with his relatives, undertook an expedition against the Sahi ruler (शाहीश, VI. 230) Thakkana. Possessed of full energy, he rapidly invaded that country, which is difficult of access on account of its streams and mountains (तद्देशं निम्नगाशैलदुर्गं, VI. 231) and captured Thakkana by force. He took tribute from that king, who did homage, and watered afresh the creeper of Fame with the water [sprinkled] at the inauguration ceremony (*abhisheka*)[3] (VI. 230-232). Soon a story became current at Srinagar that Yasodhara had taken money for keeping Thakkana on his throne (VI. 236).

1. Elliot, Vol. II (Alig. edn.), pp. 617-18, incorporating Hodivala's commentary.
2. A.D. 961 according to our calculation. See *ante* under Bhima's date of death.
3. The captured king on being installed as a tributary prince receives a fresh *abhisheka* (Stein's note on VI. 232).

Nothing is known of the ruler here referred to. As Stein suggests, he may have been some small chief in a neighbouring hill region claiming descent from the great Sahi family of Kabul and Gandhara (note on VI. 230). In our opinion, he cannot be a ruler of the main Sahi line for the following reasons :—

1. He is not included in Alberuni's list of Hindu Shahiya kings.

2. Unlike other occasions, Udabhandapura is not mentioned.

3. The territory over which Thakkana ruled was "difficult of access on account of streams and mountains" (तद्देशं निम्नगाशैलदुर्गं). Thus a different region is meant and not the original central Sahi territory.

4. The Kashmir king and his mother Didda were related to the main Sahi line and hence interested in its affairs. But the event has been narrated by Kalhana in such a way that they are shown as disinterested and indifferent.

From what has been stated above, it appears that either Thakkana did not belong to the main Sahi line or if he did, he was the son of Bhima from his second wife and not from Didda's mother's mother which explains Didda's indifference towards this expedition.

The second piece of evidence is supplied by Utbi's *Tarikh-i-Yamini*. While describing Sultan Mahmud's onward journey for his first Doab invasion of 1018-19 A. D., Utbi saya : "Sabli, son of Shahi (*v. l.* Janki), son of Bamhi (*vv. ll.* Khabli-ben-Schami, Habali-'bn-Shasni), who held the passes leading into Kashmir, looking upon the Sultan as one sent by God, also came forward, offering his allegiance, and his services as a guide. He led the way, crossing forest after forest". Hodivala in his commentary on this portion says that according to the variants available Sabli may also be read as Jangi, Japki, or Chapki, or even Jakki or Chakki. Also, as he continues, Bamhi is spelt Bihmi in the Delhi lithographed edition and the name may be read as Bhimi. We feel inclined to suggest that this Bhimi (Skt. Bhaimi=son of Bhima) may be Thakkana and the chief Sabli "who held the passes leading into Kashmir" (this area evidently lay in a sub-montane region called

तद्देशं निम्नगाशैवदुर्गं in VI. 231) was his direct descendant. Also, this hypothesis does not go against the chronology we have accepted here.

The reconstructed genealogy is given below :

Bhima or Jetripala (Hutpal)

Daughter	Jayapala	Bhaimi or Bhimi (Thakkana ? fl. 961 A. D.)
		Shahi
		Sabli (fl. 1018-19 A. D.)

It appears that the two sons of Bhima Sahi named above were born at a later stage in his life (say, in 930 and 932 respectively as suggested earlier) and were from some other wife of the Sahi king and not the one that produced Didda's mother.

Coronation

As we have presumed in the case of Bhima, we may do so in the case of Jayapala also, regarding the royal coronation at Kabul, because it was an established custom among the Shahiya kings. Welcome light on this aspect of Shahiya history is thrown by the early Muslim sources For example, Idrisi, usually known as al-Sharif al-Idrisi (b. A. D. 1100, d. A. D. 1166), in the eighth section of the second clime of his Arabic book *Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq Fikhtiraq al-Afaq* says[1]:

§ 64. ".....The people of Qandahar often wage war with the king of Kabul.

§ 65. "Kabul is one of the towns of India, neighbouring on Tukharistan. It is a town of magnificent size and beautiful structure.

1. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the Neighbouring Territories in the Kitab Nuzhat al-Mushtaq Fikhtiraq al-Afaq of al-Sharif al-Idrisi* (containing an English translation of relevant passages with a commentary), Leiden, 1960, p. 67. Interestingly enough, Idrisi was an almost exact contemporary of Kalhana.

.....It has a fortress which is distinguished for its entrenchment, and which has only one way to climb it. There is a large population of Muslims living in it. It has a suburb where Jewish infidels live.

§ 66. "It is in Kabul that the contract of investiture of every *Shahi* king is completed. Here he is obliged to agree to certain ancient conditions which complete the contract. People of distant and nearby regions visit this place".[1]

Evidently Idrisi was recording earlier traditions of Hind, because his statements are not applicable to the middle of the twelfth century. As has rightly been remarked, "The historical references concern mainly the ninth and the tenth centuries A. D."[2]

Another Muslim author Isami in his *Futuhus Salatin*[3] (verse 1102=1099 in Husain's text) calls Jayapala a king of Kabul (*Shah-i-Kabul*) which is significant.

We may, however, note in passing that Jayapala was the last Hindu Shahiya king to be crowned at Kabul and have the distinction of what may be called the Kabul coronation, because by the time he was dead (A. D. 1002), the entire trans-Indus area including Udabhandapura had gone to Islam beyond recovery.

Mention in a Contemporary Sanskrit Inscription

The Bari Kot (Upper Swat) inscription already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter begins with *Om svasti 100*, followed by the words meaning "in the reign of the supreme sovereign, the superior king of great kings and the supreme lord the illustrious Jayapaladeva". We then gather that in the illustrious Vajirasthana (Waziristan) three individuals, whose names are completely rubbed

1. *Cf.* Elliot, I, p. 92: "No king can take the title of Shah until he has been inaugurated at Kabul." Quoted by S. Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 67, fn. 1.
2. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
3. Written in A. D. 1350 in the Deccan. English translation is by Agha Mahdi Husain (Vol. I, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1967).

off, founded something, the nature of which cannot be determined. This inscription is the first epigraphical document which mentions the name of the Sahi king Jayapaladeva. The existing portion contains no date[1], but the document must have been inscribed when Waziristan and Swat formed part of the kingdom of Jayapala[2]. Hence we have placed it here before the shrinking of the Sahi king's dominions begins.

A Chinese Pilgrim in Gandhara

From M. Chavannes' translation of the journeys to India of Chinese pilgrims in search of the Law we learn that during the rule of the Sahis a Chinese pilgrim named Ki-ye with three hundred monks reached Gandhara via the Gilgit Valley from his home in Kansu in north-west China which he had left in 960 A. D.[3]

Ki-ye visited Gandhara in 960-61 A. D. and wrote an account. It may be mentioned that this area had been noted in the history of Buddhism and was capable of attracting Buddhists from outside.

Conflict with Alptigin of Ghazni A. D. 963

The history of Jayapala and his successors is, practically speaking, the history of a long-drawn struggle with the powerful Muslim kingdom founded by Alptigin.

Alptigin seized Zabulistan together with its capital Ghazni[4] from the Amir Abu Bakr Lawik in A. D. 963 and established there an independent kingdom[5]. Abu Bakr Lawik having been defeated took refuge with the king of Kabul[6]. Firishta (Briggs, I, p. 5)

1. The portion up to this is based on *EI*, 21, p. 301.
2. This is our view.
3. This paragraph is taken from R. S. Pandit (tr.), *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., p. 170 (note on V. 152-155).
4. The fort of Ghazni (Arabic *Ghazna*, Persian *Ghaznin*) fell on Monday, 12th January, 963 (Muhammad Nazim, *The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, Cambridge, 1931, p. 25, fn. 6) after a siege of four months (*ibid.*, p. 25).
5. D. C. Ganguly in *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1957, p. 2.
6. Muhammad Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 25, fn. 5.

informs us that during the life-time of Alptigin "his general, Subuktigin frequently invaded the provinces of Multan and Lamghan carrying away its inhabitants as slaves". It is also known from an inscription that king Sahilla-varman of Chamba (Skt. Champa) routed the forces of the Turushkas in a battle. He probably joined with the Sahis in repulsing an attack of the Turks in the Kabul valley during the reign of Alptigin[1]. Isami's reference to Jayapala as the King of Kabul (*Shah-i-Kabul*) in his *Futuhus Salatin* (verse 1102=1099 in Husain's text) also points to the same direction.

Muhammad Nazim[2] says that Alptigin, who died on 13 September 963, had conquered "a part of the kingdom of Kabul", but quotes no authority. It may be presumed from subsequent events that the Sahi kingdom did not suffer any material loss before the reign of Subuktigin.[3]

Formation of a Combination of Three Powers

Alptigin's general Subuktigin's frequent invasion of the provinces of Multan and Lamghan and carrying away their inhabitants as slaves led to the formation of a combination of three powers, *viz.*, the Hindu Sahi king of Udabhanda, the Bhattia Raja, and the Amir of Multan. The Bhattia Raja ruled over a territory which has been restored as Bhattiya or Bhatiya. It has not been identified satisfactorily,[4] but was somewhere near Multan and on the eastern side of the Indus. Possibly this "powerful independent king" "laid claim to the territory on the western side of the Indus and incited the people there".[5] Multan was being ruled at this time by Sheikh Hamid Lawi,[6] a descendant of Usama bin Lawi bin Ghalib,

1. D. C. Ganguly in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 2nd edn., 1964, p. 122.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 26.
3. D. C. Ganguly, *Struggle*, pp. 2-3.
4. Its identification with Bhera, Bhatnair or Bhatinda is not convincing.
5. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 35.
6. Elliot, Vol. II (Alig. edn.), p. 612 (Hodivala's Commentary). *Cf.* Nazim, p. 96, fn. 5. Firishta's Lodi (or Afghan) is an obvious error for Lawi.

an Arab of the tribe of Quraish, the same to which Muhammad belonged. When Jayapala felt "convinced that his troops were unable to withstand the inclemency of the northern climate so as to retaliate on the invaders", he "concerted measures with Bhattia Raja to obtain the services of Sheikh Hamid"[1] Lawi who cooperated with these Hindu kings to oppose Alptigin's general Subuktigin in Lamghan.[2] Elphinstone (*History of India*, Vol. I, London. 1843) says that Hamid Khan had joined the enemies of his faith for a cession of the provinces of Multan and Laghman.[3]

Conflict with Alptigin's Successors
A. D. 963-977

According to an authority quoted by Firishta (Briggs, I, p. 7) Alptigin's general Subuktigin was engaged in frequent wars with the Indians and defeated them during the fifteen years' rule of Alptigin. But as the latter did not rule for more than a year, the statement about frequent raids into India by Subuktigin, in our opinion, can only refer to the period of Subuktigin's generalship from the time of Alptigin's conquest of Ghazni (A. H. 351) to his own accession to the throne (A. H. 366) which really covers a period of fifteen (lunar) years.[4]

Between Alptigin and Subuktigin reigned three kings, *viz.*, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim (Alptigin's son), Bilkatigin (Alptigin's slave and commander of body-guard), and Piri or Piritigin (another slave of Alptigin). The last-named king was a cruel one. So the people

1. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 6.
2. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 80.
3. Quoted in Elliot, Vol. II (Alig. edn.), p. 444. This statement is made on the authority of Firishta (*ibid.*). In H. C. Ray's opinion (*DHNI*, I, p. 25, fn. 5) Firishta seems to hint that Sheikh Hamid was established in Multan by Jayapala and the Ray of Bhattia.
4. In D. C. Ganguly's opinion (*Struggle*, p. 2) it refers to the interval between the death of Alptigin and Subuktigin's own accession to the throne.

invited Abu Ali Lawik son of Abu Bakr Lawik, to invade Ghazni. The Sahi king of Gandhara, whose dominions extended to the Hindu Kush and included Kabul, was alarmed by the establishment of a Muslim kingdom to the south of the great mountain barrier. He made a common cause with Abu Ali Lawik against Piritigin. He sent his son with an army to assist his ally in the invasion of Ghazni. Abu Ali Lawik accompanied by "the son of the king of Kabul" promptly advanced on Ghazni. Subuktigin met the allied forces in the vicinity of Charakh, a place on the east bank of the Lohgar river on one of the routes from Kabul to Ghazni, with a body of 500 slaves. He suddenly attacked them, killed a large number of enemy soldiers and took many prisoners to Ghazni together with ten elephants. This victory greatly advanced his prestige.[1]

According to Sir Wolseley Haig Piritigin's "reign of five years is remarkable for the first conflict in this region between Hindus and Muslims, the former being the aggressors".[2] He conveniently forgets the long struggle of the Hindu-Buddhist rulers of Kabulistan and Zabulistan with the Muslim Arab expansionists for maintaining their independence.

Misdeeds of Piritigin brought about his downfall and Subuktigin, originally a slave and later a general and son-in-law of Alptigin, was raised to the throne on 20 April 977 A. D.

Dissolution of the Combination of Three Powers

Circa **A. D. 977**

When Subuktigin became king, he succeeded through diplomacy in detaching Sheikh Hamid Lawi of Multan from the side of the Sahis. "Sheikh Hamid perceiving that his own country would, in all probability, suffer in the incursions with which Subuktigin threatened India, united himself with that prince" and "Subuktigin, from motives of policy, avoided the districts of Sheikh Hamid by

1. This paragraph is based on Nazim (p. 27) and D. C. Ganguly (*Struggle*, p. 3). References have been supplied by the former.
2. *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 11.

every means in his power".[1] The statement of Firishta that he owed allegiance to Subuktigin is more than doubtful. What appears to be more likely was that Subuktigin by a shrewd diplomatic move dissolved the combination of the three powers which blocked his progress in the Indus Valley.[2] Jayapala being thus isolated was to be easily defeated in future.

Early Raids of Amir Subuktigin : Loss of Some Frontier Forts

Subuktigin, a Yamini Turk, was the first Muslim who attempted the invasion of India from the north-west.

A new broom, it is said, sweeps well. So did Subuktigin. Under the impulse of both his newly acquired power at Ghazni and the religious frenzy of his freshly converted race, the slave-king struck right and left.[3] Kabul, being so dangerously near to Ghazni, could hardly escape his attention. He prepared himself for this task by detaching Sheikh Hamid Lawi from the side of the Sahis. Then, "girding up his loins for a war of religion he endeavoured to desolate the territories of Raja Jayapala.....the ruler of Hindustan".[4] Firishta states that during the close of the first year of his reign Subuktigin, "resolving on a war with the idolaters of India, marched in that direction, and having taken certain forts caused mosques to be built, and then returned with considerable spoil to Ghazni".[5] These attacks appear to have been utterly unprovoked by any acts of hostility on Jayapala's part[6], and resulted in the conquest of "many castles and strongholds", which no doubt "augmented the boundaries of his kingdom".[7]

1. Firishta, Eng. tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 6.
2. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, pp. 25-26, 81.
3. S. R. Sharma, *The Crescent in India : A Study in Medieval History*, third edition, Bombay, 1966, p. 46.
4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Eng. tr. by B. Dey, p. 3.
5. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 9.
6. *DHNI*, I, p. 81.
7. *Kitab-i-Yamini*, Eng. tr., pp. 33-36.

First Major Encounter with Yamini Turks of Ghazni A. D. 986-87

When Jayapala saw "how Subuktigin was taking different parts of the territory into his own possession and injuring everybody who opposed him in his projects of ambition, the deepest grief seized him and made him restless, and his lands became narrow under his feet, though their expanse was broad".[1] Finding that because of the reiterated invasions of the Muhammadans he was unlikely to enjoy tranquillity at home,[2] he assembled his relations and the generals of his army and his vassals, and with a great army consisting of huge elephants approached the territory of Subuktigin[3] about the year A. H. 376[4] (A. D. 986-87). The Amir who was already prepared for this met him near a hill called Ghuzak, between Ghazni and Lamghan.

The battle between the two armies continued for several days. According to Muslim chroniclers the Hindu army was rapidly gaining ground when at the suggestion of his young son Mahmud Subuktigin took recourse to an unchivalrous means. There was near Jayapala's camp a lofty mountain, called the 'Ukba Ghuzak', in one of whose ravines there was a clear fountain of water. There was a popular superstition that if it was contaminated with any filth, "black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose, the summits of the mountains became black, rain fell, and the neighbourhood was filled with cold blasts, until red death supervened".[5] At the instance of Subuktigin his men secretly threw some dirty substance into the fountain and the dreadful consequences followed. There were

1. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 19.
2. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 9.
3. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 19.
4. Utbi, pp. 9, 22, says that Mahmud was fifteen years of age at this time. Nazim (p. 29) has conjectured the date from this statement.
5. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 20.

fire, hailstones, thunder and a blast[1]; thick black vapours formed around the Hindus so that they could not see the road by which they could fly, and their food and water were filled with dust. A great part of the cattle was killed, and some thousands of the soldiers of both armies perished. But the troops of Hindustan, who were mainly recruited from the plains and unaccustomed to such cold weather, naturally suffered more than those of Ghazni who were more hardy.

Jayapala was therefore forced to sue for peace. Mahmud was in favour of carrying on the war till he should obtain a complete victory. But Subuktigin, fearing that if the Hindus, as they had threatened to do in despair, burnt themselves with all their valuables, he would lose the rich peace offerings, consented to come to terms. Jayapala promised (i-ii) to give at that time 1,000,000 Shahiya dirhams[2] and 50 elephants and (iii) to cede some forts and towns

1. "The supernatural element in the account has to be given up and we may believe that the intense cold and mist or snowfall which came to discomfit the Hindus in the first battle was a natural phenomenon and was not caused by any supernatural agency" [as Muslim historians want us to believe] (Vaidya, III, p. 26).

2. They were not royal dirhams as in Elliot, II, p. 21, but *Shahiya* dirhams as correctly interpreted by Hodivala who says that the words in the text of Utbi must mean 'Shahi dirhams'—dirhams struck by the *Shahiya* rulers of Waihind. Elsewhere also, in his account of the booty obtained at Bhimnagar, Utbi says that "the stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand *Shahiya* dirhams", not 'royal dirhams', as in Elliot, II, p. 35. It is significant that Utbi does not use the qualifying denomination when *dirhams* are mentioned at other places as indicative of the total money value, *e.g.*, Elliot, II, pp. 32 (capture of Multan), 50 (first Doab invasion). The reason probably is that the *dirhams* spoken of in those passages were not the *Shahi* mintages but the *dirhams* of Sultan Mahmud. The specific references to *Shahiya* dirhams in connection only with Jayapala and Bhimnagar which was in Shahiya territory and the *deliberate omission* of the qualifying denomination *in all other passages* are, Hodivala suggests, of pregnant significance Elliot, II, Alig. edn., pp. 605-06).

on the frontier.[1] As a security for the fulfilment of these terms, Jayapala left some of his kinsmen[2] as hostages and returned to his kingdom.

In view of the inclement weather caused by the natural phenomenon, the defiling of the water by the Muslims, and the preparedness of the Rajputs to sell their lives dearly if necessary, it has been suggested by C. V. Vaidya[3] that "this battle was most probably a drawn one"; it seems probable that the negotiations for peace at this battle must have ended in honourable terms of peace, *viz.*, the payment of an indemnity and the present of a number of elephants, and that the Indian soldiers returned in consequence of the inclement weather.

Alleged Violation of Treaty and Subuktigin's Punitive Expedition (*c.* A. D. 987-90) : Turkish Capture of Lamghan

We are told by Utbi and all subsequent authorities that when Jayapala safely reached his own country, he repudiated the treaty[4] and took prisoners the officers of Subuktigin who had been sent to take charge of the ceded forts and towns. Enraged at this treacherous conduct of the Sahi king, Subuktigin marched at the head of a large army and captured many towns in Lamghan including the city of Lamghan, which was famous for its immense wealth and strong fortifications. He plundered and sacked the country, destroyed temples and built mosques in their place.

1. C. V. Vaidya (Vol. III, p. 27) has expressed doubt on this term of the treaty for which see *infra*.
2. Muhammad Nazim (p. 98, fn. 1) on the basis of Gardizi (p. 69) surmises that one of these kinsmen was Sukhapala, who was Jayapala's grandson. Of him we shall hear later too.
3. Vol. III, p. 26. The arrangement of the arguments is ours.
4. According to Firishta (Briggs, I, p. 10) Jayapala refused payment on reaching his capital on the advice of his Brahmana advisers, though the council of the most respectable Brahmanas and the noblest Kshatriyas convened on the occasion had made a contrary suggestion.

We have given the story above as it is available in the Muslim sources. But this is only one side of the evidence. The other side is completely absent. We do not know what Jayapala had to say in his defence. C. V. Vaidya[1] doubts the inclusion of the term regarding the cession of forts and towns in the original treaty on the following grounds :

1. In the first place, the defeat of the Hindus was only nominal and the delivery of fortresses in Jayapala's territory was a condition too exacting. [As he says on the page just preceding, "this battle was most probably a drawn one".]

2. Secondly, if it had been agreed upon, Jayapala was not the man treacherously to break it as soon as he was safe within his own country. The Hindu Shahiya kings of Kabul, like in fact the Rajput kings of the whole of India at that time, were men of honour.[2] Even Alberuni (Vol. II, p. 13) praises their high character.

The truth seems that the Muslim historians, as usual, throw all the blame on Jayapala; but it is not unlikely that this was a mere pretext for renewing hostilities on both sides.[3] Situated as they were, there could be no lasting peace between these two states.[4]

Second Major Encounter with Yamini Turks of Ghazni (A. D. 990-91) : Final Loss of Lamghanat (Kabul-Jalalabad Region)

Seeing that his kingdom was gradually diminishing, Jayapala at last decided to make a final assault on the ever advancing enemy in order to recover his lost territory.

1. Vol. III, p. 27. Said in a different context but utilised here by us in this manner without any distortion whatsoever.
2. Even Jayapala himself referred to this feature of Indian character when negotiations for peace were going on at the end of the first major battle (Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 21; Firishta, Eng. tr. by Briggs, I, p. 10).
3. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 83.
4. *Ibid.*

He "collected troops to the number of more than one hundred thousand."[1] All the authorities however are agreed that the army of Jayapala mainly consisted of 100,000 cavalry. To this Nizamuddin adds "many elephants" and Firishta, "an innumerable host of foot". On receiving news of the advance of the Hindu army Subuktigin stationed his troops in a strategic position on a lofty hill near Lamghan.[2] The Hindu army appeared to their enemies "like the boundless ocean and in number like the ants or the locusts of the wilderness". But though the forces of Islam were fewer in number, the superior generalship of their leader compensated for this.

Having made a general survey of the countless forces of Jayapala from his post, Subuktigin divided his soldiers into batches of five hundred men, and sent them in succession to attack a particular point of the enemy line. The Hindus, being worse mounted than the cavalry of Subuktigin, were unable to withstand them, and wearied out by the manoeuvre just mentioned, began to give way. Subuktigin, perceiving their disorder, made a general assault. The Hindus were everywhere "defeated, and had fled, leaving behind them their property, utensils, arms, provisions, elephants, and horses." Subuktigin acquired in this action both fame and wealth, for, besides the rich plunder of the Indian camp, he levied heavy contributions on the countries he had acquired as a result of this battle,[3] and obtained two hundred elephants of war[4].

1. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 23. Firishta states "that on this occasion the neighbouring *rajas* supplied troops and money, particularly those of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjar, and Kanauj" (Briggs, I, p 11). We shall express our opinion on this later.
2. On the basis of Nizamuddin and Firishta. Utbi does not mention the place of the battle. The author of the *Adabul Muluk* refers to a battle between Shah Jayapala and Amir Subuktigin in the plain of Kindi (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. 12, 1938, p. 224). Alberuni mentions one Kandi in his *India* (I, p. 317).
3. V. A. Smith has suggested that the date of this battle was "990, or possibly 991 A. D." (*JRAS*, 1909, p. 275).
4. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 24.

As a result of this action in which Jayapala was signally defeated, Subuktigin annexed the whole territory up to Lamghan[1] and extended the frontier of his kingdom, on the side of India, to this region.[2] He appears to have thoroughly incorporated the conquered territory with his own kingdom by forcible conversion of the people to Islam.[3] The provinces of Jalalabad and Kabul (Lamghanat)[4] were thus annexed and forcibly converted to Muhammadanism.[5] The interesting story of the conversion of the Hindu governor of Kabul, incidentally related by Alberuni (Vol. II, p. 157), must have belonged to this period.[6] The Afghans and the Khiljis who resided among the mountains submitted to Subuktigin and were recruited in the army.[7] His eastern frontier up to the mountain range to the west of the Indus was now safe in all respects. For attaining his objective, he took a wise and rather unconventional step. "In the interest of his successors he constructed, in order to weaken the Indian frontier, those roads on which afterwards his son Yaminaddaula Mahmud marched into India during a period of thirty years and more."[8] Thus the result of the second major encounter between the Hindu Sahis and the Yamini Turks proved to be highly disastrous for Jayapala, his dynasty, religion and, above all, his country.

1. Nazim, pp. 30, 86, 195. Utbi is vague. Nizamuddin mentions the Lamghan country only.
2. It is only Firishta who adds Peshawar ; but, as we shall presently see, that is wrong.
3. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 28.
4. The two actions were fought near the Lamghan valley, or more probably in the valley of Jalalabad, for as the plural, *Lamghanat*, is frequently used, there seems reason to believe that the valley to the south as well as the north of the Kabul river was included in that province (Elliot, II, p. 436).
5. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 66.
6. Suggested by C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 28 ; *cf.* Vol. I, pp. 194-195.
7. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 24. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, pp. 11-12.
8. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 22.

Before we take up the next important event of the reign of Jayapala, we propose to discuss here Firishta's theory of a Hindu confederacy helping the Sahi king against Subuktigin in the second major battle. Says Firishta[1] :

"Subuktigin.....hastened with his army towards Hindustan. Jayapala also, having colleeted his troops, marched forth to oppose him. It is related that on this occasion the neighbouring *rajas* supplied troops and money, particularly those of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalanjara, and Kanauj, whose forces having united in the Punjab, the whole composed an army of a hundred thousand horse, besides an innumerable host of foot."

Thus, according to Firishta, Jayapala was helped by the following :

(i) the *raja* of Delhi,

(ii) the *raja* of Ajmer,

(iii) the *raja* of Kalanjara,

(iv) the *raja* of Kanauj, and

(v) other neighbouring *rajas* (not covered above).

For quite different reasons, this theory has been supportad by all kinds of modern historians, *e. g.*, European, Muslim, and Hindu. It was H. C. Ray,[2] and he alone, who showed reasons to doubt the veracity of this statement and another similar statement referring to the war of 1008-09 made by this Muslim chronicler. In our opinion, this theory has no legs to stand on and is based on wrong notions. Our arguments[3], which are based on a critical examination of sources, geographical aspect, Hindu psychology and actual details of the war, are as follows :

1. No historian prior to Firishta refers to a confederacy

1. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 11.
2. *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 83-84, 91-92, 324 fn. 3, 596-598 with fn. 2 on p. 597 ; Vol. II, pp. 682-683.
3. Argument no. 1 is entirely Ray's. As a matter of fact, it was this which inspired us to examine the theory in detail. Other arguments, except the last which is C. V. Vaidya's, are ours.

of Hindu princes that helped the Sahis in A. D. 990-91.[1] "The names of these princes are not found in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*"[2] of Nizamuddin. "The *TKA* (=*Al-Tarikhul-Kamil*) of Ibn al-Asir, which was composed within a century of the death of Mahmud, also does not mention the names of these allies of the Sahis."[3] "But what is more significant is that even the contemporary 'official history' of Utbi fails to give the names of any of these princes. It is curious that an author who was in such intimate relations with the Yaminis, and whose object in writing his *Kitab* was certainly not to conceal any facts which would tend to increase the glory of his master's house, should fail to mention these princes if their contingents were really present in the battle-field."[4] Hence H. C. Ray feels "that there are reasons to suspect the veracity of Firishta on this point. The silence of Utbi, Ibn al-Asir, and Nizamuddin appears to me to be rather significant".[5]

2. Muhammad Kasim Hindu Shah, surnamed Firishta, wrote his work *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, commonly known as *Tarikh-i-Firishta* in A. D. 1611. Thus it is a very late source, recording events in the present case after more than six centuries. Like most of the other Muslim historians, he too was full of religious zeal while depicting the history of the rise of the Muhammadan power in India. The unreliable character of his book has been proved in many instances including the portion dealing with the history of the Hindu Sahis. For example, they are called kings of Lahore, while the fact is that Lahore came under their possession only in A. D. 999 and was never their capital.[6]

1. Or in A. D. 1008-09.
2. *DHNI*, I, p. 597.
3. *Ibid.*, fn. 2. See Bulak edn., 1874, Vol. IX of *TKA*.
4. *DHNI*, I, p. 597. Peculiarly enough, H. C. Ray gives this argument in the chapter on the Later Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj and not at the appropriate place (chapter on Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab, p. 83).
5. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 682.
6. As we shall see later.

3. There is no reference to this confederacy in Indian literature.

4. Indian epigraphy does not know of this confederacy.

5. There were geographical and other difficulties in sending help to Udabhandapura (situated in the Mardan district on the west bank of the Indus) and thence to Lamghan in present-day Afghanistan. This point is conveniently ignored by scholars.

6. The unity said to have been achieved by Hinduism through this confederacy is rather unusual and even unnatural. The caste-ridden and rotten society of the Hindus could not possibly think of sending help for the king of the distant Kabul-Gandhara. And, where was this Hindu confederacy when Mahmud was plundering the Doab and desecrating the sacred temples in the very heart of Aryavarta a few years later ?

7. Had this battle been so important in the eyes of the early Muslim historians, they would have cared to furnish its date and exact place which are wanting.

8. An independent analysis of the individual kingdoms proves the hollowness of the point. "When Firishta and other later historians write that kings of Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj and Kalanjar took part in this war, they certainly exaggerate and bring kings of later renown into the affair."[1] For example, Delhi was insignificant at that time; it is not even mentioned by Alberuni in his geographical chapter on India.[2] Ajmer had not even been founded; and the Chauhan kings of Sambhar were not so strong as to send a contingent[3]. The Kalanjara ruler who according to Firishta 'supplied troops and money' to Jayapala against Amir Subuktigin was the Chandella king Dhanga (*c.* A. D. 950-1002/3), "who caused the destruction of his enemies and who, by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Hamvira, who had proved a heavy

1. C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 28.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.* The non-participation of the king of Ajmer has been conceded even by Muhammad Nazim (pp. 30,215).

burden for the earth" (*bhuvanatibharam*, भुवनातिभारं).[1] This means that the Kalanjara ruler did not take part in the battle against Hamvira (Amir) Subuktigin. "If Dhanga really fought and was defeated by the *Hamvira*, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors."[2] Hence it may reasonably be supposed that his reign was "probably unmarred by defeats at the hands of the Turushkas."[3] The Pratiharas of Kanauj, then a decadent power, were, in our opinion, too weak to send a contingent to the aid of Jayapala.

9. Firishta does not name Kashmir as one of the states sending men and money to its neighbour. This is really strange, because Jayapala had several grounds to expect help from it : geographical nearness, old relationship with the ruling family, and great power and influence of the ruling queen Didda (A. D. 980/1-1003) who was well-known for her religious disposition and pious foundations.[4] Instead, his very name is omitted in the *Rajatarangini*. Didda's nephew Sangramaraja (A. D. 1003-1028) actually helped Jayapala's grandson Trilochanapala Sahi[5] more than two decades later.

10. And what kind of religious support was this offered by the Hindus in which only men and money were sent and princes did not accompany their contingents ? Could such help be effective ?

11. "Lastly, if the combined army was so vast as to number about one lakh of men and included several hundreds of elephants, the tactics of Subuktigin in attacking them incessantly with bodies of 500 horsemen could not have succeeded and the Hindus could not have been so signally defeated."[6] Thus Vaidya has expressed doubt in this part of the detail also.

1. Mahoba Fragmentary Stone Inscription (now in the Lucknow Museum) of the Reign of Kirtivarman, verse 17, *EI*, 1, pp. 218 (Eng. tr.), 221 (text).
2. *DHNI*, II, 683.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Raj.*, VI. 299-308; VIII. 2414, 3388.
5. *Ibid.*, VII. 47-70.
6. C. V. Vaidya, Vol. III, p. 27.

It seems that Subuktigin must again have invaded the territory of Jayapala after some time on one pretext or another or on no pretext whatsoever. And Jayapala must have opposed him with such force as he could muster from his own kingdom and he was signally defeated.[1] No impending danger of any magnitude whatsoever could have been able to arouse the Hindus from their deep slumber and goad them to form a confederacy against Islam or foreigners.[2]

Conquest of Lahore Kingdom

A. D. 991

As a result of his conflicts with Subuktigin, the Yamini Turk Amir of Ghazni, Jayapala lost much territory in the west. But he made up his losses in the west by territorial acquisitions in the east.[3]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 28. This seems to be the correct statement of the fact.
2. It does not behove the Hindus of today to take pride in things that did not exist at all.
3. The only source throwing light on this is the *Adabul Muluk wa Kifayatul Mamluk* (MS.) written by Sharif-e-Muhammad b. Mansur in the time of Sultan Iltutmish (A. D. 1211-1236) in about A. D. 1228. The book is also known as *Adabul Harb wash-Shuja'ah*. Relevant portions of this work bearing on the history of the Ghaznavids and the Punjab have been translated into English with comments by Muhammad Nazim in *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 486-493, (Miss) Iqbal M. Shafi in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April 1938, pp. 189-234 (esp. 220-222 dealing with Shah Jayapala's conquest and annexation of the Lahore kingdom), and Muhammad Baqir in *ibidem*, Vol 22, No. 3, July 1948, pp. 295-305 ; also summarised by Muhammad Nazim in his *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, pp. 194-196. (Miss) Iqbal M. Shafi has translated all the eighteen anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavids occurring in that text (*op. cit.*, pp. 196-234) of which the following are of special interest to us for the purpose of Sahi history : 6 (use of Hindu army by Mahmud),

About A. D. 991, Bharata, ruler of the kingdom of Lahore, who had usurped the throne from his aged father and was arrogant and ambitious, invaded the kingdom of Shah Jayapala with a view to conquering the fort and salt mines of Nandana and the districts of Jhelum and Takishar. He crossed the river Chenab, which marked the boundary between the two kingdoms, and reached Takishar. Jayapala sent his son Anandapala who scattered the army of Bharata and entered Lahore in triumph. The notables of the town, however, interceded on behalf of Bharata, and, on his promising to pay tribute, Anandapala reinstated him in his kingdom.

Shortly after the retirement of Anandapala, Bharata was deposed by his son Chandardat, who adopted a hostile attitude towards Shah Jayapala.

The situation in the west also changed after a few years. Subuktigin died in August 997 and was succeeded by Ismail, his younger son by a daughter of Alptigin. There was a struggle for the throne in which Mahmud, the eldest son of Subuktigin, succeeded (March 998). He was a great expansionist and directed his energy against the Hindu Sahis from the very beginning of his reign.

8 (revolt and death in battle of Sandanpal, the grandson of the Shah of Kabul), 9 (weapons used by Subuktigin and Mahmud), 10 (Khanids' inroad into Khurasan ; revolt, defeat and capture of Sandpal, the grandson of Shah Jayapala), 11 (Muslim invasion in A. H. 408=A. D. 1017 of the Punjab territories like Jalandhara and Sarasuti), 12 (early history and Shah Jayapala's conquest in A. H. 389=A. D. 999 of the Lahore kingdom ; appointment in A. H. 389 of Mahmud as the Caliph's deputy for Hind), 13 (story of Afghan Udaira ; Shah Jayapala's defeat at the battles of Parshawar and Jani at the hands of Mahmud, and his previous defeat at the battle of Kindi by Subuktigin), and 17 (Mahmud's battle of the Rahut with Shah Trilochanapala of Lahore and Yamuna and Ganges Valleys, and battle of Kanauj with Ray Trilochanapala Pratihara of Kanauj).

Annexation of Lahore Kingdom
A. D. 999

In A. H. 389 (A. D. 999) "Shah Jayapala of Purshur" (=Purushapura, mod. Peshawar)[1] sent Anandapala to punish Chandardat, king of Lahore, for having dethroned his own father. Chandardat made great preparations for defence and advanced from Lahore to meet the invader, but one day while he was hunting, he ventured too far out of his camp and was surprised and taken prisoner by an ambush which Anandapala had laid in a jungle close by. The sons of Chandardat escaped and took refuge with the Raja of Jalandhara. Jayapala annexed the kingdom of Chandardat[2] which probably extended on the east to the river Beas, and placed it under the governorship of Anandapala.[3]

Mahmud's Vow of Annual Expedition to India
A. D. 999

Mahmud of Ghazni continued the forward policy of his father. When he was recognised as an independent sovereign by the Caliph of Baghdad in A. D. 999, he resolved to lead an expedition to

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1. This means that Jayapala was master of Peshawar at this time and had not lost this region in A. D. 990-91 as a result of his second battle with Subuktigin. Firishta states to the contrary which is wrong.
2. According to the *Adabul Muluk*, our only source for Lahore during the pre-Muslim period, on which our narrative is based, Chandardat ruled over Lahore for nine years. We wish to suggest that these years are approximate and lunar, *i.e.*, from A. H. 380 to 389.
3. Utbi also seems to make a reference to this fact when he says (Elliot, II, p. 27) that Jayapala after being released by Mahmud returned to his country "and wrote to his son Anandapala, whose territory, on which he prided himself, was on the other side of the Sihun (=Sindhu, Indus)", for fulfilling the terms of the treaty. This relates to the war of A. D. 1001-02.

India every year. We wish to add that this vow was mainly directed against the Hindu Sahis who were his immediate neighbours and had to bear the brunt of his invasions till they were completely annihilated.

Mahmud's First Invasion of India (September 1000 A. D.): Loss of Some Frontier Forts, Bannu and Waziristan

In pursuance of his vow and apparently without any provocation on Jayapala's part, Mahmud marched towards India about the close of the year 390[1] (September 1000), took "many forts and provinces,"[2] and "established his own governors" in them before returning to the capital.[3]

What was the region that was conquered and annexed on the present occasion ? Because of the geographical nearness, conquest of the Peshawar region (which lies to the west of the Indus) in the next expedition, absence of references to areas lying to the west of the Indus in the invasions coming after A.D. 1001-02, and frequent references to crossing of the Indus for reaching enemies' territories after the above-noted date, we would like to suggest that the southern part of the trans-Indus region belonging to the Hindu Sahis, which consisted of Bannu (valley of the Kurrum or ancient Kramu) and Waziristan, was conquered and annexed on the present occasion, the northern part consisting of Peshawar (lower valley of the Kabul or ancient Kubha) and Swat having been reserved for the next one. In Mahmud's conquest of the Bannu district we are supported by C. V. Vaidya : "This district was, it seems, seized by Mahmud first and the people forcibly converted in order to enable him to pass over to India easily."[4] Also, "Mahmud first secured the Bannu district of the present N. W. Frontier Province, which

1. The date is inferred from Gardizi, p. 63 (Nazim, p. 86, fn. 4).
2. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 20.
3. Gardizi is the only contemporary authority to mention this expedition. Nizamuddin and Firishta, the only two among the later writers to give this expedition, have most probably taken it from Gardizi.
4. Vol. III, p. 66.

was an ancient tract of the Hindus and was clearly in possession of the Shahis of Kabul."[1] The extensive mounds near Bannu contain plentiful coins "of the last Brahmin kingly line of Kabul" but none "of any Muhammadan kings showing that the city was destroyed by Mahmud."[2] We have added Waziristan which is west of, and contiguous to, Bannu and nearer to Ghazni, because the Bari Kot (Upper Swat) inscription[3] of Sri Jayapaladeva issued much earlier seems to imply that Sri-Vajirasthana (Waziristan) was in the dominions of that king. Probably Vaidya hints at it when he says that Mahmud "annexed the lower part of the present N. W. Frontier Province, *viz.*, Bannu and *the adjoining territory*"[4] (*italics* ours).

Third Major Encounter with Yamini Turks of Ghazni (September 1001-April 1002): Battles of Peshawar and Waihind : Loss of Peshawar, Udabhanda and Swat

The following year Mahmud made greater preparations for an attack on Jayapala and marched from Ghazni in the month of Shawwal, 391 A. H.[5] (September 1001 A. D.). On this occasion too, it appears, there was no provocation on the part of the Sahi king. The silence of contemporary and near contemporary sources on this point and the unpreparedness of the Sahi king testified to by all the sources seem to support this view. Muhammad Nazim[6] refers to a statement in Muhammad b. Ali b. Ali's *Mujmaul-Ansab*, f. 231b, that on the death of Subuktigin, Jayapala tried to take back what Subuktigin had conquered of his kingdom and attacked Mahmud who marched from Ghazni to

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.* Vaidya's statement (*ibid.*, p. 28) that Jayapala "may have lost the southern part of it (=Gandhara) including Bannu" as a result of his second battle with Subuktigin is contradictory and probably because of oversight.
3. *EI*, 21, p. 301.
4. Vol. III, p. 106.
5. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 21.
6. P. 87, fn. 1.

repel the invasion. In view of the fact that the evidence is late[1] and uncorroborated, it cannot be accepted. It is probably for this reason that Nazim also did not incorporate it in the text and relegated it to the footnote.

With the suddenness of resolve and celerity of movement which distinguished this great vanquisher, Mahmud moved from the west and entered the territory of Jayapala at the head of 15,000 picked cavalry and a large number of volunteers.[2] "On his reaching Purshaur (Peshawar), he pitched his tent outside the city."[3] Jayapala advanced to meet him with an army numbering 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 300 war elephants and took up his position in front of Mahmud's camp. It appears that his preparations were not complete. He delayed the commencement of the battle in order that those men of his army who were coming up should arrive. Mahmud realised the situation and at once attacked the enemy when the latter were encamped and even wearing all kinds of valuable ornaments.[4]

1. The book was written in A. D. 1332-33.
2. For "the volunteer element of the army" of Mahmud see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids : Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, 994-1040*, Edinburgh, 1963, p. 114. These volunteers, called *ghazis*, were "plunder-seeking adventurers" especially utilised "for the Indian campaigns." "Ten thousand ghazis accompanied Mahmud in 391/1001 to Peshawar and Waihand against the Raja Jaipal, and 20,000 from Transoxania for the Qanauj campaign of 409/1018..... For the Somnath expedition of 416/1025-6 Mahmud took with him.....the volunteers.....[who] were allotted 50,000 dinars from the state treasury for weapons and equipment" (*ibid.*).
3. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 25. This "means that Jayapala was still master of this part west of the Indus, with his capital at Waihind " (Vaidya, III, p. 31).
4. This is known from the account of the spoils obtained by the victors. The conclusion is of Vaidya (Vol. III, p. 32).

According to all the authorities this battle took place on the plains of Peshawar on 8th Muharram, 392 A. H. (corresponding to Thursday,[1] 27 November 1001 A. D.).

The conflict raged fiercely till noon when the Hindus, unable to withstand the repeated cavalry charges of the Muslims, broke and fled leaving 5000 dead on the field of battle. It is claimed by Muslim writers that "the lord of Khurasan on the plain of Purshawar scattered his (=Jayapala's) army in one attack."[2]

The spoils captured satisfied the most fantastic expectations of the conquerors. Jayapala himself with fifteen of his sons and grandsons, besides several officers and others, was taken prisoner[3] and brought before the Sultan. The booty in ornaments was incalculable. So many necklaces were found on the necks of the princely prisoners (including Jayapala) and of the wounded and the slain, set with rubies and pearls and diamonds, that the army of Islam obtained unlimited wealth. Also, it got "such an amount of booty as was beyond all bounds and all calculation, including five hundred thousand slaves, beautiful men and women."

Ordinarily, the matter would have ended here with the conclusion of peace. But this was not to be. Mahmud wanted to intimidate Jayapala into complete surrender, and for this he

1. Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 26) gives Thursday which is right; Gardizi, Nizamuddin and Budauni giving Saturday and Firishta making it Monday are mistaken (Hodivala in Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 607).
2. So says Unsuri in one of his *qasidas* (*JRAS*, 1927, pp. 493-494). Isami also expresses a similar idea in his *Futuhus Salatin* (verse 649). The author of the *Adabul Muluk* (*Islamic Culture*, Vol. 12, 1938, p. 223) too wants to convey the same impression.
3. Given by all sources, *e. g.*, Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 26); Unsuri (*JRAS*, 1927, pp. 493-494); Gardizi (p. 66); *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (tr. Raverty, p. 82; Elliot, II, 270); Isami (tr. A. M. Husain, Vol. I, verse nos. 578, 649-652, 1102-1104); Nizamuddin; Firishta (tr. Briggs, I, p. 21).

adopted an utterly undignified method from the very beginning. Utbi informs us that Jayapala himself and his relatives after having been taken prisoners were strongly bound with ropes and carried before the Sultan *like common evil-doers*, and that Jayapala was "paraded about so that his sons and chieftains might see him in that condition of shame, bonds and disgrace." As if this were not sufficient, Mahmud sent him to Khurasan[1] for sale as a slave. He was entrusted to a broker of the slave-market[2] who publicly exposed the Shah of the Hindus at one of the slave-auctions in front of the camp of the Shahinshah Mahmud, just like the thousands of other Hindu captives. As Jayapala was an old man and had few or none of the qualifications or attractions of the superior classes of slaves, the price he would fetch in the *open market* would be of course low and it was fixed at only 80 *dirhams* which was deposited in the Sultan's treasury.[3] The object of exposing Ray Jayapala to public

1. Unsuri in one of his *qasidas* (*JRAS*, 1927, pp. 493-494); Minhajus Siraj in his *Tab. Nas.* (Elliot, II, p. 270); Isami in his *Futuhus Salatin* (Eng. tr. A. M. Husain, Vol. I, verse 578; also verses 649-652, 1102-1104). Also *cf.* Hodivala in Elliot, II, Alig. edn., pp. 683-684.
2. Formerly it was believed by scholars that Jayapala after having been imprisoned was sent to Khurasan where he was kept in a fortress (Vaidya, III, p. 32) or at a place named Man-Yazid (*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, tr. Raverty, p. 82) or Yazd (?) (*Tab. Nas.*, tr. Elliot, II, p. 270) or Mirand (Unsuri, as interpreted by Muhammad Nazim in *JRAS*, 1927, p. 494 and his *Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna*, p. 87). It is Hodivala (Elliot, II, Alig. edn., pp. 683-685, 754-755) who has interpreted the word '*man-yazid*' correctly with the help of old Persian dictionaries and historical texts including Isami's *Futuhus Salatin* (verses 649-652). It is a common noun signifying 'auction', 'sale of goods', 'sale in a market', 'market', 'auctioneering room'.
3. The account of the Khurasan transaction has been prepared on the basis of the sources noted above, *viz.*, Unsuri,

derision and contumely was evidently to compel and frighten him into surrendering unconditionally to his victor's demands, to impress upon him that the Sultan was resolved to show no consideration for his person or position and that he would be treated just like any other bondman, if he did not purchase his release on his captor's own terms.[1]

"After this victory, Mahmud marched from Peshawar, and investing the fort of Bitand (Bithand) reduced it."[2] This (=the fort of Bitand or Bithand) was the place where Jayapala used to reside in the past for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Muhammadans.[3] This[4] has been rightly identified with Waihind (Bihand=Bahind=Waihind), that is, Udabhanda, the celebrated

Minhajus Siraj and Isami, with Hodivala's clarification. Unsuri and Isami imply that Mahmud, the lord of Khurasan, was present there.

1. Hodivala (Elliot, II, Alig. edn., pp. 683-684). Isami narrates how Sultan Mahmud felt regrets "towards the close of his reign" for this behaviour meted out to Jayapala. In the Sultan's opinion this was one of the five occasions (verses 1102-1144) when his talented minister Hasan Maimandi did not give him good advice. With a view to recounting the occasions when the minister faltered to give him good advice, the Sultan addressing him began as follows : "First, you faltered when the king of Kabul having fallen prisoner into my hands, you advised that he should be sent to the market and sold. From such poor advice, O adviser, came contempt of my forefathers and ancestors" (A. M. Husain's English translation of *Futuhus Salatin*, Vol. I, verses 1102-1104).
2. Firishta (tr. Briggs, I, 21) seems to give the correct sequence of events. Generally our sources (both primary and secondary) mention the capture of Waihind after the treaty had been concluded, Jayapala released and the terms fulfilled !
3. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
4. This place could not be Bhatinda as is supposed by some, as the latter would be too distant from Peshawar, being on the

capital of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty. Some Muslim sources like Utbi and Ibn al-Asir give the name (Waihind) correctly. At Mahmud's approach the Hindus retreated to the passes in the neighbouring hills and the forests and jungles. While they were devising plans for an effective resistance, Mahmud despatched an army against them, conquered their country, and dispersed them with a great deal of slaughter. Thus he spent the remaining winter months in reducing the adjoining territories.

Negotiations for peace had already started but Mahmud entered into conditions of peace with Jayapala only *after* inflicting upon him the public indignity of "commingling him in one common servitude" with his subjects and completely capturing his capital containing the fort and temples. According to the conditions Jayapala promised to pay 250,000 *dinaras* as ransom and to deliver 50 elephants. Jayapala was allowed to return to his kingdom, but one son and one grandson of his were detained as hostages till the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty. After Jayapala's return to his own kingdom which now lay to the east of the Sindhu. his son Anandapala, who was at that time residing somewhere to the east of the Sindhu (Indus), sent the stipulated sum of money and elephants to Mahmud. Consequently Mahmud released the Sahi princes and others. Thus it was that "in the opening of the ensuing spring he released his prisoners on payment of a large ransom."[1] Also, he put to death many of the Afghan chiefs who had opposed him.

south of the Sutlej. Mahmud could not have traversed the whole of the Punjab with his limited force as stated already and as pointed out long ago by Elliot (II, pp. 438-439) [C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 32]. For a detailed discussion regarding the wrong identification of Bitand (or variants of it) with Bhatinda (in the Eastern Punjab) and the statement of a correct situation (=Waihind) see R. C. Majumdar, 'Sultan Mahmud and the Shahiya Kings', *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1934, pp. 223-235, esp. 223, 228-231.

Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 21. He also mentions stipulation for an annual tribute, but we do not find it elsewhere.

He returned to Ghazni in the beginning of spring (April 1002).

The success achieved in his second invasion of India gave Mahmud great fame. According to Utbi "the news of it spread to the most distant horizon."[1] According to Hamdullah al-Mustawfi's *Tarikh-i-Guzida*, p. 396, Mahmud was called *Ghazi* after this victory.[2]

What was the region that was [conquered and] annexed on the present occasion ? Because of the geographical nearness, conquest and annexation of Bannu and Waziristan (which lie to the west of the Indus) in the earlier expedition, conquest of Peshawar and Waihind in the present expedition, absence of references to areas lying to the west of the Indus after this invasion (of A. D. 1001-02), and frequent references to the crossing of the Indus for reaching enemies' territories after the above-noted date, we would like to suggest that the northern part of the trans-Indus region belonging to the Hindu Sahis, which consisted of Peshawar (including Waihind) and Swat, was conquered and annexed on the present occasion, the southern part consisting of Bannu and Waziristan having been conquered and annexed already in September 1000 A. D. There is no doubt about Peshawar and Waihind (Udabhanda) whose conquest is referred to by all the sources. We have added Swat which is north of, and contiguous to, the Peshawar region, because the Bari Kot (Upper Swat) inscription[3] of Sri Jayapaladeva issued much earlier seems to imply that Upper Swat (and for that reason, Swat itself), being the region of the findspot of the inscription, was in the dominions of that king. Also, the account of the Waihind campaign shows that Mahmud subdued the neighbouring hills also on this occasion.[4]

Mahmud made important gains in his second invasion of India. In Peshawar he got "a province of the country of Hind,

1. Quoted in Vaidya, III, p. 32.
2. Nazim, p. 88, fn. 3. *Guzida* was written about the year 1329-30 A. D. (Nazim, p. 10).
3. *EI*, 21, p. 301.
4. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 28.

broader and longer and more fertile than Khurasan."[1] He captured Waihind, the capital of the Hindu Sahi kingdom, situated on the then second route to the Indus. being a little above the junction of the Kabul river with the Indus.[2] By the capture of Waihind, Mahmud's progress becomes easy and natural.[3] It opened his way into the Northern Punjab and he acquired the power of extending his incursions to the other side of the Indus.[4] His victory put an end to the dominion of the Hindus to the west of the Indus and even their future existence there,[5] because he attempted to consolidate his dominions by the forcible conversion to Islam of the people of the annexed provinces,[6] especially those lying to the west of the Indus. He probably realised the necessity of unity of religious belief in the people as an important factor in the consolidation of kingdoms, and systematically carried out the forcible conversion of the people.[7] The conversion of the frontier tribes and the conversion of the people to the west of the Indus generally belong to this period.[8]

Transfer of the Capital to Nandana

A. D. 1001-02

For the most part of the reign of Jayapala the capital continued to be Udabhandapura. It is celebrated as the capital of Gandhara in the works of Alberuni (*India*, I, pp. 206, 259; also p. 317) and his contemporary Yadavaprakasa (*Vaijayanti*,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
2. Vaidya, III, pp. 66-67.
3. Elliot, II, p. 439.
4. Hodivala in Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 607.
5. Vaidya, III, p. 32.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 32. *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-98* (Lahore, 1898), p. 50.

Paryayabhaga, III. 1. 24).[1] An unknown Persian geographer, who compiled his Persian work named *Hudud al-Alam* in A. D. 982-83, mentions this under the name Waihind and says : "It is a big city and the king of that place is Jaipal and.....inside there are some Mussalmans and much of the mercantile commodity comes to this territory, like musk, pearls and valuable cloths."[2] Firishta[3] also tells us that Jayapala "resided in the fort of Bitunda for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Muhammadans."

Jayapala's steps for opposing the Muhammadans proved to be unsuccessful, and the fort of Bitunda or Udabhandapura was conquered by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in A. D. 1001-02. The Hindu Sahis were compelled to leave Udabhandapura and Salatura, their winter and summer capitals respectively. It was now necessary to find out some other place for the capital of the kingdom.

This was provided by Nandana in the Salt Range. This site ('the fortress Nandna') has been mentioned in the *India*[4] of Alberuni as well in a list of important places.[5] The location, the strategic position and the antiquity of the place have been dealt with by W. S.

1. The relevant passage runs : गन्धारास्तु दिहयडास्स्यु: , 'the Gandharas are also known as the Dihandas'. The passage is actually a mistake for गन्धारास्तूदभायडास्स्यु: , 'the Gandharas are also known as the Udabhandas'. The text of the book is corrupt at several places, *e. g.*, it gives *Sakhayo* (शाखयो) for *Sahayo* (शाहयो). These points were brought out by D. C. Sircar in *Siddha-Bharati* (*Siddheshwar Varma Presentation Volume*), Hoshiarpur, 1950, pp. 291 ff. and later in his *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, Motilal Banarsidass, 1960, pp. 231-235 ('Udabhanda').
2. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Third Session, Calcutta, 1939, p. 670.
3. Tr. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 9.
4. Vol. I, p. 317.
5. This list includes Ghazna, Kabul, Lamghan, Purshavar and Waihand.

Talbot[1] in a District Gazetteer and by Sir Aurel Stein in an article.[2] Stein's article has been summarised in *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the Year 1931* (Leyden, 1933), pp. 1-5 (with one sketch-map and three illustrations) where "a brief account of the discoveries made at Nandana, the fortified Gate of the Salt Range" has been added (pp. 4-5): "A detailed survey made by Sir Aurel Stein's party revealed the existence of several layers of fortifications, mainly built in cut stones, the oldest of which probably go back to times much earlier than Mahmud of Ghazna. Circular bastions and high walls with a specially constructed fortified passage leading to the rivulet are still discernible. On the top of the hillock ruins of different types testify to a prolonged occupation.....there are two ruined Hindu temples built in the Kashmiri style of the Hindu Shahi times.....Both these temples are built on platforms belonging to an earlier period.....[which] are foundations of Buddhist edifices. The whole group of buildings is not marked in the Survey maps, and a thorough examination by the staff of the Archaeological Survey seems highly desirable."

After the loss of trans-Indus territories, the Sahis selected this ancient stronghold as their capital. Utbi[3] knows this (Nardin)[4] as "the capital of Hind." A comparison of the accounts which Firishta and Nizamuddin give of Sultan Mahmud's expedition in A. H. 404 (A. D. 1013) indicates "the fort of Nindoona, situated on the mountains of Balnat" to be the capital. For, Firishta says that when the king saw he could not oppose the

1. *Gazetteer of the Jhelum District*, pp. 46-47 (quoted by C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 63 and Sir Aurel Stein in his article noted just below, p. 40).
2. 'The Site of Alexander's Passage of the Hydaspes and the Battle with Poros', *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 80, July to December 1932, pp. 31-46, with two maps and five illustrations; see especially pp. 40-41, 44-45.
3. In Elliot, II, p. 37.
4. Nardin is the same as Nandana or Ninduna (Alberuni's Nandna).

Sulltan in the field, he drew off his army towards Kashmir, leaving troops for the defence of his capital which was immediately invested by Sultan Mahmud. That the place so invested was Ninduna (Nindoona) is expressly stated by Nizamuddin and implied by the preliminary remarks of Firishta.[1] Firishta, no doubt, frequently refers to 'Jaipal of Lahore', but there is nothing to indicate either that Lahore was his capital or even that it was an important city in the tenth century A. D.[2]

Our historians of early medieval India like C. V. Vaidya (Vol. III, 1926) and H. C. Ray (Vol. I, 1931) did not know Nandana as the capital of the Sahis after their loss of Udabhandapura. Erroneous views about Sahi capitals continued because of Elliot's remarks: "It seems probable...that the succession of the real Kabul sovereigns ceased with Bhim."....."The principal places of his [Jaipal's] residence appear to have been Lahore, Bhera, and Waihind; and it may be doubted if any of these places, except perhaps the last, had been held by the kings of Kabul" (Vol. II, p. 426)..."From a statement in the *Tarikhul Hind*, we may infer that his [Bhim Pal's] capital was Bari, to the east of Kanauj" (*ibid.*, p. 427). C. V. Vaidya (Vol. III, p. 63) follows Sir H. M. Elliot when he says "that Bhera [on the bank of the Jhelum] which is about twelve miles distant from Nandana might have served as a third capital to Anandapala when Wahind was lost.....[because] Bhera exhibits all the marks of being a capital city, and lying as it does, midway between Lahore and Wahind may have served as a third capital to the Shahi kings."

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1. Tr. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 31. This comparison of the accounts with a view to finding out the capital of the Sahi kings after they had lost the trans-Indus territories has been made by R. C. Majumdar in *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, p. 231.
2. R. C. Majumdar, *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, p 231. This paragraph of ours is based on Majumdar's article cited above except that Utbi's reference to "the capital of Hind" has been found out by us and not Majumdar.

However, historians like Muhammad Nazim,[1] Ramesh Chandra Majumdar[2] and Sir Jadunath Sarkar[3] have accepted Nandana as the capital of the Sahis after the loss of Und or Udabhandapura—a fact which is not properly placed in our history books.

An alternative capital, this time not on the bank of the principal river of the kingdom but in a protected mountain range, had been found out. But could this act as a solace for the aged Jayapala whose humiliation had known no bounds ?

Death

Jayapala did not long survive his humiliation. Feeling deeply the ignominy of his three successive defeats at the hands of the Muslims, loss of trans-Indus territory and imperial capital, capture and imprisonment, and over all, his exposure in the 'slave market' in Khurasan (which was intended to be the crowning humiliation of his life and part of a callous and deliberate plan of frightfulness and intimidation), and being perhaps very old, he thought himself unfit to rule. Shortly after his return to the Punjab, he burnt himself on a funeral pyre, which he is said to have kindled with his own hands. This event took place probably in the beginning of A. H. 393[4] which year lasted from 10 November 1002 to 29 October 1003 A.D. As the year 1002 contains 52 days of A.H. 393, we may feel sure that he died in 1002 and not in 1003 A.D.

Utbi and Firishta differ as to the reasons which led the Sahi king to commit suicide. Utbi says : "There is a custom among

1. Referring to Mahmud's return to Ghazni in the beginning of spring (April 1002) Nazim adds in a footnote (p. 88, fn. 3) : "The capital of the Hindushahiyya kingdom was now probably shifted to Nandana."
2. Quoted already.
3. ***Military History of India*** (Orient Longmans, 1st edn., September 1960; 2nd impression, 1962, p. 90) : "The Hindu king [Anandpal] had shifted his capital to Nandana."
4. Muhammad Nazim, ***JRAS***, 1927, p. 495; ***Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna***, p. 88.

these men that if anyone is taken prisoner by an enemy as in this case Jayapala was by the Musalmans, it is not lawful for him to continue to reign."[1] But Firishta says : "It is said that in those days a custom prevailed among the Hindus that whatever *raja* was twice overpowered by strangers, became disqualified to reign."[2]

The tragic end of Jayapala and his long life, unfortunate throughout its length, cannot but raise our pity and admiration for his dignified death.[3]

1. Utbi in Elliot, II, 27.
2. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 21.
3. Vaidya, III, p. 33.

CHAPTER VI

ANANDAPALA

A. D. 1002-1013

Jayapala, who died sometime in A. D. 1002 (probably towards the end of this year[1]), was succeeded by his son Anandapala. This is supported by all the authorities.

Renewal of Alliance between Sahis and Multan

The first important event[2] of the reign of Anandapala was the renewal of the alliance between the Hindu Sahis and the Muslim Amir of Multan.

Abul Fath Daud, the son of Nasr, succeeded his grandfather Sheikh Hamid Lawi on the throne of Multan. He maintained friendly relations with Subuktigin and, after his death, with his son Sultan Mahmud. These good relations however did not last long. The reason seems to be that the invader Amir "Subuktigin, from motives of policy, avoided the districts of Sheikh Hamid [and his successor] by every means in his power,"[3] and the rulers of Multan on their part "paid tribute to Amir Subuktigin."[4] "But his son

1. Sultan Mahmud returned to Ghazni in the beginning of spring (April 1002) (Nazim, p. 88). Hence Jayapala must have died at a date later than this.
2. In our opinion Mahmud's conquest between October 1004 and March-June 1005 of Bhatiya (wrongly identified with Bhera on the Jhelum which was in the Sahi dominions) was not connected in any way with the Sahis as Bhatiya lay somewhere to the "south-west of Multan and between the Indus and the Sutlej" (Vaidya, III, p. 37) and its "king was perhaps a powerful independent king" "who laid claim to territory on the western side of the Indus and incited the people there" (*ibidem*, p. 35). Firishta (Briggs, I, pp. 21-22) wrongly regards him as a tributary king under Anandapala.
3. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

Mahmud, on the contrary, made furious war against the Afghans, putting to death all who did not acknowledge his supremacy."[1] His imperialistic designs also must have opened the Amir's eyes. By A. D. 1002 it was clear that the tide would now advance towards the east across the Indus against Bhatiya,[2] Multan and the remaining portion of the Sahi kingdom. Also, the Amir Abul Fath Daud belonged to another sect of Islam. So he shook off Mahmud's allegiance[3] and "tried to stem the advancing tide by renewing his alliance with the Sahis."[4] Abul Fath Daud of Multan and Anandapala, the successor of Jayapala, were now allies[5] bound by the clause of helping each other when invaded by a third party.[6]

The date of this alliance is not known. It may, however, be noted that when Sultan Mahmud was returning from his expedition to Bhatiya in 1005, Daud probably resented the passage of his army through the province of Multan.[7] We do not know whether this resentment was a result of the alliance or meant to maintain self-respect and international code. If the former was the case, we have to presume that another clause of agreement between the Sahis and Multan provided for the refusal of passage to an aggressor or unfriendly party (like Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni).

Helping Multan against Mahmud and Consequent Discomfiture : Battle on the Indus (April 1006)

In spring 396 A.H. (March-April 1006 A. D.) Sultan Mahmud marched against Abul Fath Daud of Multan as the Amir had abandoned the tenets of the [orthodox] faithful and shaken off

1. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
2. The kingdoms are arranged from the south to the north.
3. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
4. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 27.
5. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
6. The clause has been inferred from Abul Fath Daud's request for "aid" from "his ally Anandapala" in A. D. 1006 when the former had been invaded by Mahmud (*ibid.*).
7. Nazim, pp. 96, 101.

his allegiance[1] by stopping payment of tribute. As it was not safe to cross the river Indus lower down, the Sultan resolved to cross it near Peshawar and requested permission from Anandapala, the king of the Punjab, to pass through his territory. This proves that Anandapala was an independent king[2] and that the Sultan and Anandapala were at peace, for otherwise this request would have been meaningless.[3] The Sahi king refused permission as the Amir of Multan was his ally. The Sultan resolved first to attack Anandapala and then Multan. When Abul Fath Daud heard of the approach of Mahmud from Ghazni, he solicited the aid of his ally Anandapala, who, true to his alliance, detached the greater part of his army to oppose Mahmud.[4] This opposition resulted in his discomfiture[5] as he received a crushing defeat. Mahmud "stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush, into which he was followed by his subjects."[6] "The Sultan pursued the Ray over hill and dale, over the soft and hard ground of his territory, and his followers either became a feast to the rapacious wild beasts of the passes and plains, or fled in distraction to the neighbourhood of Kashmir."[7] The Sultan then relinquished the pursuit and marched straight across the Punjab to Multan. Unsuri (Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.) says that the Sultan captured 200 forts on his way to Multan, and crossed all the Punjab rivers except the Beas and the Sutlej.[8] However, by what route Mahmud went to Multan is not clearly stated by any authorities.

The place where this battle was fought is described as

1. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
2. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 40.
3. Muhammad Nazim, p. 88, fn. 7.
4. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
5. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 31.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Quoted by Nazim (p. 89, fn. 2); only first part quoted by Elliot in Vol. II, p. 443.

Peshawar by Firishta.[1] But Peshawar was already in the possession of Mahmud. It must have been some place in the Punjab on the east of the Indus.[2] Utbi does not give the place at all. A hint is however, furnished by Firishta which may enable us to arrive at the truth. He says : "Mahmud now entered Multan, by the route of Bitand"[3] or Bithand, which is clearly Bihand or Waihind, ancient Udabhanda, on the western side of the Indus. This simply indicates the place where the river Indus was crossed and from which side the territory of Anandapala was entered. Mahmud was perfectly within his rights when he was at Peshawar or Bitand (Bihand) as these places were in his dominions. The western bank of the Indus was also under his control. Anandapala could have no objection to Mahmud's presence at these places. Hence the battle could not possibly have been fought at Peshawar (as Firishta alleges) or at Bitand (*i. e.*, Waihind or Udabhanda). It might have started when it was clear that Mahmud was attempting to cross the Indus in order to enter Multan "by the route of Bitand" or Udabhanda. And the actual battle or the decisive and ferocious part of it must have been fought at "some place in the Punjab on the east of the Indus" as C. V. Vaidya[4] suggests. In our opinion this battle was fought on the plain of Chhachh in the Attock District which is just opposite Waihind.

Let us now examine the story of the pursuit of Anandapala and his followers by Sultan Mahmud. The study of Utbi gives the impression that the Sahi king was pursued in the neighbouring areas of the battle-field and his followers fled "to the neighbourhood of Kashmir." No river or rivers (like the Jhelum and the Chenab) are mentioned, not even Nandana, the new capital of the Sahis, which was near the Jhelum river. But Firishta, who arranged the battle between Anandapala and Mahmud at Peshawar, says : "...his [Anandapala's] army...was defeated, and pursued by his [Mahmud's] troops as far as the town of Sodra on the Chenab. Anandapala, on

1. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
2. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 40.
3. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
4. Vol. III, p. 40.

this occasion deserting his capital, fled through the hills into Kashmir."[1] The whole thing runs like a romance, because the primary motive of Mahmud was to defeat and conquer Multan and not the Sahi kingdom. He had to conserve his energy for passing through the remaining part of Anandapala's kingdom and for defeating Abul Fath Daud of Multan. According to Unsuri he captured 200 forts on his way to Multan. Hence pursuing the fugitives up to the town of Sodra on the Chenab which is generally identified with Wazirabad on the left bank of the Chenab about fifty miles due north of Lahore, would have been sheer waste of energy. Thus Firishta's stories about the place of battle (Peshawar), the pursuit of the Sahi army by Mahmud's troops up to the town of Sodra on the Chenab[2] and Anandapala's desertion of his capital and fleeing into Kashmir have to be rejected as fanciful.

Mahmud besieged Multan which capitulated after a siege of seven days. He then proceeded to reduce the outlying parts of the kingdom of Multan. Before long he received the news of the irruption of Ilak Khan into Khurasan. Giving charge of the government of Multan to Sukhapala, alias Nawasa Shah, a Sahi prince now converted to Islam, he hurried back to Ghazni, without making a halt on the way[3], to meet the danger from the north. By what route he returned from Multan is not clearly stated by any authority.

Mahmud while returning from Multan does not appear to have seized any territory of Anandapala though, as stated before, he had plundered and devastated it. When Mahmud retired beyond the Indus, Anandapala must have returned to his territory[4] and re-occupied it.

1. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 23.
2. Another equally romantic story of the pursuit of the fugitives of the Sahi side in A.D. 1009 by Mahmud up to Bhimnagar or Nagarkot usually identified with Kangra and Nagarkot will be taken up at the appropriate place.
3. Ibn al-Asir, IX, 133, and Unsuri, p. 80 (quoted by Nazim, p. 48, fn. 7).
4. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 42.

Readiness to Help Conqueror Mahmud against Rebellious Turks : Demonstration of Misplaced Generosity towards a Ruthless Foe (A.D. 1006)

Taking advantage of Sultan Mahmud's absence in India the Turkish chief Ilak Khan, ruler of vast dominions from the banks of the Oxus to the border of China, invaded the territory of the Sultan. His generals captured Balkh and Herat, and the whole of Khurasan passed under the sway of Ilak Khan. When the Sultan received information of this attak, he left the task of subjugating the outlying parts of Multan to his officers, returned post-haste to Ghazni and with an army considerably increased by the contingents furnished by the Khaljis, marched across the Hindukush mountains to Balkh. It was probably at this time that Anandapala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty offered his services to Mahmud[1] to which Alberuni refers in his *India*.[2] It was a golden opportunity for Anandapala to recover his lost territories in the Peshawar region and secure the gate of India against future encroachments of Ghazni. Even apart from patriotism and statesmanship, the life and death of his father, and the cruel indignities inflicted upon him by Sultan Mahmud would have loudly called for such a course[3]. But instead of pursuing a policy dictated alike by prudence and filial piety,[4] Anandapala, according to the contemporary Muslim chronicler, sent the following message[5] to Sultan Mahmud :

"I have learned that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khurasan. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5000 horsemen, 10,000 foot-soldiers, and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on

1. Muhammad Nazim, p. 49, fn. 1.
2. Tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.
3. Suggested by R. C. Majumdar, *D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1950, p. 349.
4. *Ibid.*
5. History does not record if there was any written reply to this noble message (*ibid.*).

you. I have been conquered by *you*, and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you."[1]

Alberuni informs us that this letter of Anandapala was sent to "Mahmud, when the relations between them were already strained to the utmost." "The same prince", says he, "cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muhammadans from the time when his son was made a prisoner."[2] Though all will share Alberuni's admiration for the "noble sentiment and noble bearing" of the prince, historians will nevertheless deplore that by his inaction Anandapala lost the only chance of crushing his foe whose unscrupulous ambition was unchecked by any moral considerations.[3] Thus, this war between the rebellious Turks and Sultan Mahmud, though in no way directly connected with the history of the Sahis, yet affords us interesting evidence of their nobility, and if we may be permitted to say so, lack of opportunism which is the basis of all successful statesmanship.[4]

Inability to Help Own Son against Powerful Mahmud (A. D. 1007-08) : Tragic Career of Sahi Prince Sukhapala

The defeat of Ilak Khan at the hands of Sultan Mahmud did not put an end to his ambition of conquering Khurasan, and he made great preparations for another struggle. With an imposing army he again crossed the Oxus. The Sultan advanced to meet him at the head of an army consisting of Khaljis, Afghans, Kurds, Ghuzz Turkomans and Indians.

Taking advantage of the prolonged struggle between Sultan Mahmud and Ilak Khan[5] and probably at the instigation of the

1. Alberuni's *India*, Vol. II, pp. 13-14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
3. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 90.
4. *Ibid.* The main encounter took place about the end of 396 (July-August 1006). By the beginning of the year 397 (September-October 1006) Khurasan was cleared of the Turks (Nazim, p. 49 and fn. 2).
5. Muhammad Nazim, p. 98.

latter,[1] Sukhapala, governor of Multan, abjured the religion of Islam, returned to the Hindu fold, and raised the standard of revolt in the winter of 398 (December 1007). The severity of the weather was a circumstance on which Sukhapala seems to have counted in choosing this time for his rebellion.[2] He threw off his allegiance to Mahmud and expelled all his officers from India.

The news of the rebellion of Sukhapala at Multan reached the Sultan in January 1008 while he was following the defeated army of Ilak Khan. He relinquished the pursuit and, undaunted by the severity of the weather, he hastened to India and appeared before Multan. His rapid march surprised his enemy. He thundered at the gates of Multan while the rebel Sukhapala was slumbering in security. Sukhapala offered resistance. But unaided, he was no match for Mahmud. He was defeated and forced to seek refuge in the hills of Khewra (the name by which the Salt Range is commonly known) in the Punjab where Anandapala, his father, still maintained his authority. He was soon captured, and after being compelled to pay 400,000 *dirhams* was imprisoned for the rest of his life. In A. H. 435 (A.D. 1043-44) Nawasa Shah formed a confederacy of the *rajas* of southern Kashmir hill states and attacked Lahore but was defeated and slain.[3]

Sukhapala (sometimes restored as Sevakapala), called Nawasa Shah which means "grandson of the Shah", was a grandson of Shah Jayapala of the Hindu Shahiya dynasty.[4] He seems to be a son of Jayapala's son Anandapala, because Utbi says that Bhimpal was the son of Puru-Jaipal (=Trilochanapala) and that Bhimpal's uncle (=Trilochanapala's brother) had fallen into the net of Sultan Mahmud and been made a Musalman when he had demanded quarter in his distress.[5] Alberuni also says that Bhimapala was the

1. *Ibid.*, fn. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
3. Our account of this section up to this is mainly based on Muhammad Nazim with corrections wherever deemed necessary.
4. See *Adabul Muluk*, f. 88 a (Muhammad Nazim, p. 98, fn. 1).
5. Utbi in Elliot, II, pp. 47-49.

son of Tarojanapala and that a son of Anandapala had been made a prisoner by the Muhammadans while another of his sons, *viz.*, Tarojanapala was the very opposite of his father with regard to the attitude towards the Muhammadans.[1] Thus we can clearly see that Bhimapala's uncle, Trilochanapala's brother and Anandapala's son of these accounts refer to the same person who is elsewhere called Sukhapala or Nawasa Shah.

The Great Resistance of A. D. 1008-09 : Battles of Chhachh (near Hazro) and Bhimnagar (Nagarkot)

The noble sentiments of Anandapala displayed in his readiness to help Sultan Mahmud against the rebellious Turks and in not helping his son Sukhapala against the Sultan proved to be of no avail; and in A. D. 1008 Mahmud determined to attack him again for having lent his aid to Daud during his last invasion of Multan.[2] Having gone through the details of this invasion of Mahumd, I have a feeling that this had two motives, not one : first, to punish Anandapala for his audacity in the past and overawe him through his might; and secondly, to plunder the temples of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot, which was in the Shahiya territory, and obtain huge wealth including gold, silver, jewels, and Shahiya coins (struck by the *Shahiya* rulers of Waihind).

Muhammad Nazim's narrative seeks to create the impression that it was Anandapala who took the initiative in the matter of invasion for "stemming the tide of Muslim conquest from the north-west."[3] This is unjustified and unfair, because no authority of ours says this, not even Firishta. Also, Anandapala had already confessed his defeat at the hands of the Sultan as known from his famous letter preserved by Alberuni,[4] and considering the policy he adopted afterwards it is not expected that he would have himself taken this suicidal step of invading the Yamini territories first.

1. Tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 14.
2. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 26.
3. Muhammad Nazim, p. 89.
4. Quoted already.

The circumstances, however, compelled him to face hard realities, and he did it to the best of his ability. He must have asked his vassals to help him on this momentous occasion. Thus the Punjab chiefs, subordinate to him, may have joined him.[1] The Gakkhars, a warlike tribe of the Punjab, also joined the army[2] of Anandapala. But these steps were not considered adequate. Hence greater parts of garrisons meant for the defence of forts and fort-temples within the Sahi dominions were also drafted for service in the army of resistance. This is proved by the fact that when, later on, Mahmud, after defeating the combined army, rushed to Bhimnagar (Nagarkot) for plundering its temples, it was found that "the greater part of the garrison was before in the field, and those within consisted, for the most part, of priests, who", naturally enough, had "little inclination to the bloody business of war."[3] Thus it may be said that Anandapala devoted every ounce of his energy to meeting this grim situation.[4] The Sahi army which he thus collected was well equipped with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants.[5] This valiant army was placed under the command of his son Trilochanapala

1. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 42.
2. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 27.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
4. Firishta states that Anandapala invited the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, and "accordingly, the *rajas* of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmer entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces advanced towards the Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field" (tr. Briggs, I, p 26). We shall express our opinion on this later.
5. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 33.

whose name has been misread in Muslim sources as Brahmanpal (Brahmanapala)[1] or Brahmapala[2] or even Wabal-bin-Abdbal.[3]

The details of the main battle and its aftermath may be divided into the following parts :

(i) The two armies reach the opposite banks of the river Indus from two different sides.

(ii) Mahmud's army crosses the river Indus at one or two points unopposed or unnoticed and meets the Sahi army at the site of the battle : a discussion on the probable site of the battle.

(iii) Fight between the two armies.

(iv) Pursuit of the fugitives up to Bhimnagar or Nagarkot and its capture and plunder by Mahmud : a discussion on the identification of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot.

(v) Territorial loss as a result of this war.

(vi) Recovery of the lost territory.

Let us take up these parts one by one.

(i) Reaching the Indus

Mahmud left Ghazni on 31 December 1008 A. D.,[4] which though unusually late in the season—so late, indeed, as to render marching in the uplands almost impossible—would still have ena-

1. The credit for correctly restoring the name given by Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 33) goes to Hodivala (Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 613). Even Nazim has not been able to escape the pitfall (*ibid.*). R. C. Majumdar's committing the mistake (*K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, p. 227) is rather understandable. "Any person conversant with Persian orthography can see how Brahmanapala may be read for an original Trilochanapala" (C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 18, who said this in the context of a Chandella king and not Anandapala's son).
2. *Struggle for Empire*, p. 8.
3. So read in Utbi, says C. V. Vaidya (Vol. III, p. 45) who interprets it as "Wabal, son of Anandapala". Seeing that *b* stands for *n* and *bal* for *pala* in the second part of the name, it may easily be suggested by ourselves that Wabal stands for (Trilocha) napala.
4. Muhammad Nazim, p. 89 (on the basis of Utbi and Gardizi).

bled him to fight his action in the fair weather of the same year[1], *i. e.*, 1008-09.

Firishta says that the two armies "arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar."[2] Thus, as Vaidya puts it, Firishta places this decisive battle in the plain of Peshawar[3] or near Peshawar.[4] Some native writers even state that it was fought between Peshawar and Jamrud where there is a plain extensive enough for a fight between armies numbering at least a lakh on either side.[5]

According to Utbi the battle took place on the bank of 'the river of Waihind'[6] where Mahmud had been met by the army of Anandapala. This river has rightly been identified with the Indus[7] on which Waihind stands.

Utbi does not mention whether the river was crossed and if so by whom. These have to be found out by a closer study of the materials and a critical scrutiny of the topography of the entire area concerned.

Probably Anandapala advanced from the south as far as Hazro and wished to cross the Indus himself at Waihind[8] (*or*, to be

1. Elliot, II, p. 446.
2. Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 26-27. Our interpretation of this passage is different for which see *infra*.
3. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 45.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
5. Mentioned by C. V. Vaidya (*ibid.*). His own view on this point is different as we shall see later.
6. Elliot, II, p. 33. In Reynolds' translation of Utbi (p. 340) the name of the river is Wamund which is evidently a mistake for Waihind.
7. By Elliot, Vol. II, p. 444 ; C. V. Vaidya, III, pp. 45, 49 ; and H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 92. Alberuni's mention of "Sindh or the river of Vaihand" (Vol. I, p. 259 top) puts the point beyond controversy.
8. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 49.

more exact, at the place opposite Waihind with a view to reaching Waihind).[1]

Mahmud, it appears, advanced from the west via Peshawar (which tradition in our opinion has been recorded by Firishta) and proceeded towards Waihind and the western bank of the Indus. "To cross the vast stream of water here and then to offer a battle is not an easy task at all, but as will be seen from the forthcoming description Mahmud of Ghazna did it admirably."[2]

(ii) Mahmud's Crossing the Indus : the Site of the Battle

It was the month of January[3] in the year 1009 A. D. when Mahmud had to cross the Indus. "It is the time of the year when the river Indus is at its lowest ebb, and the river bed becomes riddled with small islands of varying sizes, which serve as convenient stepping stones. It is easier to cross the river at this time of the year and in this place, than at any other time and in any other place. The main body of cavalry can easily cross on horseback, while the infantry swims across in support of the cavalry, as seems to have happened in this case. Elephants were not needed to be transported

1. We have inserted the bracketed portion in order to make Vaidya more intelligible.
2. Liet.-Colonel K. A. Rashid, 'Combined Operations at Hund by Mahmud of Ghazna', *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, Fifth Session, Khairpur, February 1955 (Karachi, 1958), p. 129. This military officer has "personally visited all the scenes of his (Mahmud's) early expeditions" (p. 123) and possesses sufficient "geographical knowledge of the areas involved" together with a good "idea of the topography of the country on which these scenes were enacted" (*ibid.*, adjectives ours). Although we do not agree with all the views he has expressed in his article which was read on 16 February 1955, some of them are really remarkable and we have been benefited by them as our readers will find now.
3. Because Mahmud had left Ghazni on 31 December 1008 A.D.

across, as they would be captured during the combat; but whatever of them were left behind would cross with heavier equipment after the enemy was defeated."[1] According to this plan, "no boats were used, and the army crossed on horseback and by swimming."[2]

Why Anandapala did not oppose Mahmud's crossing the river may be explained on the supposition

(a) that Anandapala did not think that Mahmud would cross the Indus; *or*

(b) that he wished to fight with him on the east of the Indus; *or*

(c) that he did not get information in time.

We have no mention of Anandapala opposing Mahmud when he crossed the Indus. Perhaps Mahmud was already to the east of the Indus when Anandapala advanced against and met him. In this case Hazro must have been in the possession of Mahmud.[3]

This brings us to the question of the determination of the site of the battle.

C. V. Vaidya has discussed this question in his book in a Note entitled 'The Site of the Confederate Battle'[4] and has come to the conclusion that this battle was fought on the plain of Chhachh[5]

1. K. A. Rashid, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
3. This paragraph has been taken from C. V. Vaidya, III, pp. 49-50.
4. *Ibid.*, also see p. 45.
5. It was in the Rawalpindi district till 1903-04. When the Attock district was constituted on 1 April 1904 by taking three *tahsils* from the Rawalpindi district and one from the Jhelum district (*Attock District Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1932, p. 55), it went over to the Attock district. It lies in the Attock *tahsil* (*ibid.*, p. 2).

near Hazro between Hazro and Attock. He has put forth certain arguments[1] in support of his contention :

1. As Waihind and the territory to the west of the Indus was already under Mahmud, he might have taken steps to meet the enemy in his own land, like a consummate commander (p. 45).

2. The geography primer for Attock district taught in vernacular schools therein states distinctly that the battle was fought near Hazro[2] (p. 49).

3. The Gazetteer of the Attock district places this battle in the plain of Chhachh lying in that district between Attock and Hazro, and the Rawalpindi Gazetteer reiterates the statement (pp. 45, 49). This plain is on the east side of the Indus near Hazro. C. V. Vaidya personally saw this plain and the town of Hazro and thinks that this surmise of the Gazetteers may be accepted. On what authority this statement of the Gazetteers is based cannot be ascertained (p. 49).

4. The plain to the south of Hazro is wide enough for such a big battle and there is plenty of water to be found at a depth of 10 to 15 feet in this plain and there are no holes or drops in the ground so that the plain is suitable for movements of cavalry. The plain has been used for military manoeuvres by the British army (p. 50).

5. The Gakkhars inhabit these valleys and we can see easily how Gakkhars in great number joined Anandapala's army in this fight (p. 50).

1. Materials containing these arguments are found on pages 45, 49-50. We have, however, placed them in the shape of arguments, numbered them and determined their order. For ready reference we have provided Vaidya's page number against each argument.

2. This means that "a tradition" to this effect is "still current in the locality" (Hodivala in Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 612) which in our opinion cannot be ignored.

6. If we suppose that the battle was fought near Peshawar in Mahmud's territory as it then was, with the Indus before the fugitives, it would have been difficult for Anandapala or much of his force to pass beyond the Indus. It is recorded by Utbi and others that only a small number of persons (8000)[1] was slain in the pursuit. The number would have been far greater had the Indus confronted the fugitives (p. 50).

7. The plain is flanked by the hills of Kashmir and Anandapala is said by some writers to have fled into Kashmir after his defeat (p. 50).

8. The shock of the defeat must have been felt throughout the Punjab, and it was thus easy for Mahmud to march on to Kot Kangra[2] and plunder that place (p. 50).

To these arguments we wish to add two : the first is offered by Rashid and the second is suggested by ourselves.

9. We are told that 20,000 people were killed in this battle alone. The area today is riddled with graveyards, which reminds one of the great battle fought here.[3]

10. It is possible that Firishta has so far been misunderstood : "The Indians and Muhammadans arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar, where they remained encamped forty days without coming into action."[4] We wish to suggest that as the province of Peshawar, like the Peshawar district of the British (pre-provincial autonomy) days, extended up to the Indus river, the situation of the "plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar" should reasonably place it

1. This figure is supplied by C. V. Vaidya (III, p. 46) on the basis of Firishta. But this is wrong. Firishta puts this figure at 20,000 which, however, has been doubted by H. C. Ray (I, p. 92).
2. With which Vaidya identifies Bhimnagar or Nagarkot plundered by Mahmud after the battle of Chhachh. We have identified Bhimnagar differently.
3. Rashid, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
4. Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 26-27.

on the other (*or* eastern) side of the Indus river. If this interpretation of ours is accepted, it would mean that Firishta does not place this battle in the plain of Peshawar or near it, but hints at the right place[1] accepted by scholars today.

(iii) Battle of Chhachh (A. D. 1009)

The serious nature and obstinate character of the contest is indicated by the account of Utbi. According to him, the fire of battle burnt from morning to evening, and the pieces of men's bodies, hacked by the sword, coloured the earth as if by anemones. And it had nearly happened that the army of the Sultan was worsted and the Hindus were near gaining the victory. But the Sultan retrieved the situation by sending his personal guards to sweep round and deliver an attack on the enemy's rear.[2] In effecting a partial change of front to meet the attack, the Hindu ranks fell into confusion and were put to flight. Valuable spoils including 30 large elephants fell into the hands of the conquerors.[3]

When we compare this account of the contemporary Utbi with

1. The *Attock District Gazetteer* gives a good description of the plain of Chhachh (pp. 2-3, 318-19) which is said to be "a perfect example of what the Persians call "*kaf-i-dast*", a plain, that is, as the palm of a hand" (pp. 2-3).
2. This was possible presumably because part of Mahmud's army must have crossed at another point also on the Indus in the vicinity of Waihind or Hund. This original and militarily plausible suggestion has been made by Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid (*op. cit.*, pp. 129-130) who has surveyed this area in its entirety, and is convinced that from Hund Mahmud must have also sent a large part of his force along the northern bank of the Indus to cross at Darband near Tarbela, where the river enters the plains for the first time; and this place is hardly thirty miles from Hazro, the actual scene of action. He has calculated that for a quick surprise action, the total journey can be covered in twelve hours from Hund. By this surprise attack on the right flank of the enemy force which stood facing Hund at Hazro, Mahmud was able to save an ugly situation.
3. This account is based on Utbi (Elliot, II, pp. 33-34).

what Firishta states about this fight, we find that the latter "is certainly an exaggerated account"[1] and different in many respects. The opening part of the expedition is mentioned in more detail by Firishta than by Utbi and others.[2] He says that the army of the Hindu confederacy and that of the Muhammadans "remained encamped forty days without coming into action" and "the troops of the idolaters daily increased in number". Having secured himself by entrenching his camp, Mahmud ordered 6,000 archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gakkhars. The latter, in spite of the Sultan's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops, and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gakkhars[3] with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Muhammadan lines. A dreadful carnage ensued, and in a few minutes 5,000 Muhammadans were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter.[4] Just at this time, there took place an untoward incident that led to the final defeat of the Hindus on this occasion : "On a sudden, the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindus, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also."[5] In the pursuit 20,000 Hindus are said to have

1. C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 43.
2. Named in Muhammad Nazim, p. 90, fn. 2. Contrast Elliot, II, p. 33, fn. 1.
3. Their number 30,000 seems to be exaggerated according to C. V. Vaidya (Vol. III, p. 45).
4. This change in the course of the battle probably hints at the Muslim attack on the rear of the Hindu army referred to by Utbi and inferred by K. A. Rashid on the grounds of the topography of the area and the sound military tactics of the Sultan.
5. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 27.

been killed. Of the spoil, 30 elephants (besides other booty) were brought to the Sultan.[1]

(iv) Capture and Plunder of Nagarkot (A. D. 1009)

The Sultan now took up the pursuit of the fugitives and followed them to the fort called Bhimnagar, also known as Nagarkot. This was very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The temple with a large idol in this fort was held in great veneration and was famous for the wealth that had accumulated in its vaults. This was the first expedition undertaken by Mahmud with the set purpose of obtaining immense plunder.

Mahmud marched against the Hindus of Nagarkot, breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The Muhammadans first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword and then invested the fort closely. Mahmud invested the place with such expedition that the Hindus had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was before in the field, and those within consisted, for the most part, of priests, who had little inclination to the bloody business of war.[2]

The Sultan, having brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it, attacked the garrison vigorously, boldly and wisely. The defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers. They resisted for some time, but later on they surrendered and opened the gates. Thus the Sultan got an easy conquest of this fort[3] within a period of three days only.[4]

1. This account is based on Firishta.
2. This paragraph is based on Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, pp. 27-28.
3. The paragraph up to this point is on the basis of Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 34).
4. This is stated by Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 28. He adds that "Mahmud became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed" which may easily be disbelieved.

Spoils "beyond the limit of calculation" were captured by the conquerors, and consisted of 70,000,000 *Shahiya dirhams*[1] of coined money, 700,400 *mans* of gold and silver ingots, costly apparel, a folding house made of silver measuring 30 yards by 15 yards, a canopy of linen measuring 40 yards by 20 yards which was reared on poles of gold and silver,[2] and a richly decorated throne reputed to be that of Raja Bhima of the Pandava dynasty.[3]

The Sultan appointed one of his most confidential servants to the charge of the fort and the property in it[4] and returned to Ghazni with vast booty about the end of the year A. H. 399 (June 1009).[5]

Bhimnagar, also known as Nagarkot, has been generally identified with Nagarkot or Kangra in the north-eastern part of the Punjab. So far as we are aware, it is only Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid[6] who has expressed doubt in it and identified "Nagarkot with Langarkot which" is "today situated near"

1. They were not *royal* dirhams as in Elliot, II, p. 35, but *Shahiya* dirhams as correctly interpreted by Hodivala who says that the words in the text of Utbi must mean 'Shahi dirhams'—dirhams struck by the *Shahiya* rulers of Waihind (Elliot, II, Alig. edn., pp. 605-06). The specific reference to *Shahiya* dirhams in connection with "Bhimnagar which was in Shahiya territory" is "of pregnant significance" (*ibid.*, p. 606).
2. Spoils up to this point have been indicated by Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 35). Firishta's figures are different (tr. Briggs, I, p. 28).
3. Unsuri, p. 85 (quoted in Muhammad Nazim, p. 9o).
4. Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 35).
5. It is mentioned by Gardizi, p. 7o (quoted in Muhammad Nazim, p. 90, fn. 8) and Firishta (tr. Briggs, I, p. 28) that the Sultan ordered these spoils to be displayed in public in the beginning of 400 (August-September 1009).
6. 'Combined Operations at Hund by Mahmud of Ghazna', *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, Khairpur Session, 1955 (Karachi, 1958), pp. 124, 132, 134-135.

Tarbela[1] in the Attock district. "There are two forts.....which are today respectively known as Nagarkot and Langarkot, and both have remains of ancient forts which can be seen even today. The old name of Langarkot as mentioned by the District Gazetteer of Attock is Shrikot, and is today called Baoti Pind. It is situated on the right bank of the Baoti *nullah* at the west end of a rocky hill which stretches as far as the Haro river. This is a few miles north of Wah R. S.....Remains of the wall of the fort along with some towers can still be seen today along the crest of the ridge. The second fort which is called the Nagarkot is located at the termination of the Gandgarh mountains towards Tarbela, on the Indus river, the fort being situated on a high hill and away from it."[2]

The grounds of Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid for identifying Bhimnagar (Nagarkot) with Langarkot-Nagarkot in the Attock district and rejecting Kangra-Nagarkot of the north-eastern Punjab for this purpose are geographical and military in character and in our opinion reasonable. "It will be appreciated that Mahmud of Ghazna has not yet been to Nandana, nor has he been to Lahore of the Punjab; but the historians have straightaway pushed him to Kangra, which he would only reach after crossing all the rivers of the Punjab. It is not feasible to make such presumptions. Let us...save Mahmud of Ghazna the trouble of going all the distance to Kangra"[3] by looking for Nagarkot somewhere near Hazro or Chhachh. Rashid reminds us that it is not possible to "believe that in the manoeuvres carried out in the outlying areas such as Somnath, Kangra and Thanesar, where he had to cross many an obstacle in the shape of rivers, deserts, adverse climates, he marched like a flash completing his round of sixteen

1. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135. Rashid adds that when a part of Mahmud's forces crossed over at Darband for the surprise attack at Hazro, they must have bypassed this on their left, but they had no time for diversions (*ibid.*, p. 135).
3. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

invasions. It sounds very dramatic, but, I am afraid, is not the whole truth from the point of view of military strategy."[1] Going far into the interior through the unconquered territory was really very risky, as there was fear of encirclement, and return especially with booty would have become quite unsafe.[2]

Having gone through the above noted article of Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid, I became convinced of his argument. I then bagan to re-read and re-interpret the materials available to me on the subject, *e. g.*, the works of Utbi (Elliot, II, pp. 34-35) and Firishta (tr. Briggs, I, pp. 27-28). I was surprised to find that they contained more and clear-cut arguments in favour of placing Bhimnagar or Nagarkot near Chhachh and Hazro which have so far escaped the notice of scholars. I have classified these arguments in the shape of conditions for a correct identification of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot which are as follows :—

(A) It should be "situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters" (Utbi) : "on the top of a steep mountain" (Firishta).

(B) It should be in the Shahiya territory :

i. The people, after the great debacle of the Chhachh plain, fled towards Bhimnagar or Nagarkot for shelter,because they might naturally flee to a safe and well defended place in the Shahiya kingdom and not elsewhere.

ii. The name of the king of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot is not mentioned specifically in any account, because it was considered redundant.

iii. But fortunately, a hint is provided by Utbi according to whom the spoils at Bhimnagar or Nagarkot included 70,000,000 *Shahiya dirhams*[3] of coined money. It is reasonable to suppose, as Hodivala[4] has done, that Bhimnagar (with so many Shahiya coins) "was in Shahiya territory." There is no proof to indicate that the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
2. This elaboration is ours.
3. See *supra* for Hodivala's interpretation.
4. Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 606.

Kangra Valley well protected in the hilly region of the Punjab was in the Shahiya territory.

(C) It should not be east of the Chenab river as according to Firishta it was associated with the name of a king called Bhima. "The fort, at that time denominated the Fort of Bhima,.....was built by a prince of the same name" (Firishta). This king may easily be identified with Bhima of the Sahi dynasty whose territory did not extend beyond the Chenab.

(D) It should be close to the Indus river and the battlefield, that is, the plain of Chhachh :

i. "Mahmud invested the place with such expedition, that the Hindus had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was before in the field, and those within consisted, for the most part, of priests, who, having little inclination to the bloody business of war, made overtures to capitulate, and on the third day Mahmud became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed" (Firishta).

ii. Firishta gives an idea of Mahmud's plundering journey from the battlefield to Nagarkot or Fort of Bhima (=Bhimnagar of Utbi). "The King, in his zeal to propagate the faith, now marched against the Hindus of Nagarkot, breaking down their idols and razing their temples..... The Muhammadans .....first laid waste the country arround it (=the fort called the Fort of Bhima) with fire and sword." This could have been possible if Nagarkot was only a few miles away from the battlefield and not a few hundred miles removed from it.

iii. The defeated persons were slain "wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains and hills. The Sultan himself joined in the pursuit, and went after them as far as the fort called Bhimnagar" (Utbi). After all, the Sultan could not have gone pursuing his defeated enemies beyond certain limits.

iv. As Utbi informs us, the Sultan appointed officers to the charge of the fort and the property in it. Arrangements were made to take the treasures to Ghazni. After the victory, the Sultan

probably annexed the whole strip of territory from the river Indus to Nagarkot.[1] This could have been possible if this strip was small, that is, Nagarkot was not far away from the river Indus.

Hence we endorse the view of K. A. Rashid with additional arguments regarding his identification of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot which in his opinion is near Tarbela in the Attock district and not in the Kangra valley as held by professional historians so far.

(v) Territorial Loss

Muhammad Nazim is of the view that "After this victory, the Sultan probably annexed the whole strip of territory from the river Indus to Nagarkot."[2] This is plausible because the Sultan had appointed officers for the fort of Nagarkot and its property, and the strip of territory annexed was long (along the Indus river) but not so wide, and manageable. Also, it was the practice of Sultan Mahmud to annex territories near the battlefield as he had previously done in A.D. 1001-02 and was going to do again five years later.

(vi) Recovery of Lost Territory (A. D. 1009)

After the departure of the Sultan, Anandapala managed to re-establish his power in the Sindhu-Jhelum Doab including the Salt Range with his headquarters at Nandana.[3] It may be presumed that as the Sultan obtained huge wealth from the territory of the Shahiya king who had been successfully terrorised, he was probably not serious in establishing his political control over the region between the Indus and Nagarkot.

Before we take up the next important event of the reign of Anandapala, we propose to discuss here Firishta's theory of a

1. Muhammad Nazim, p. 91.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.* He mentions the recovery of the Salt Range only probably because of the Sultan's supposed penetration to the Kangra Valley. We have added the Sindhu-Jhelum Doab for the reason indicated in the text.

Hindu confederacy helping that king against Mahmud in the great resistance of A.D. 1008-09. Says Firishta[1] :

"In the spring of the year A. H. 399 (A.D. 1008),[2] he (=Mahmud) determined again to attack Anandapala, *raja* of Lahore, for having lent his aid to Daud during the late defection in Multan. Anandapala, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the *rajas* of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalanjar, Kanauj, Delhi, and Ajmer entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces advanced towards the Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and the Muhammadans arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar, where they remained encamped forty days without coming into action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindu females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gakkars and other warlike tribes joining the army surrounded the Muhammadans, who were obliged to entrench their camp."

As stated earlier in connection with the so-called Hindu confederacy said to have been formed in A.D. 990-91, this statement of Firishta is not correct. We have already furnished arguments in connection with the battle which took place in about A.D. 990-91. "The same arguments also apply in the case of the battle which took place in about 1008 A.D."[3] Our arguments,[4] which are

1. Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 26-27.
2. The year A. H. 399 is equivalent to A. D. 1008-09. [Y. M.]
3. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 597.
4. Argument no. 1 is entirely H. C. Ray's. Other arguments, except no. 10 which is C. V. Vaidya's, are ours. The common arguments (equally applicable to the war of A. D. 990-91) have been repeated with slight variations or modifications where deemed necessary.

based on a critical examination of sources, geographical aspect, Hindu national character and actual details of the battle fought, are as follows :

1. No historian prior to Firishta refers to a confederacy of Hindu princes that helped the Sahis in A. D. 1008-09.[1] "The contemporary historian Utbi gives not the slightest hint about this confederacy."[2] "It is surprising that Utbi notices no such awakening to a common danger amongst the princes and peoples of India, which according to Firishta, led to something like a national confederacy against the Islamic invaders, and even omits from his account the names of all these kings and principalities."[3] "He simply states that 'Anandapala came to confront him (Mahmud) with a numerous army.' Nizamuddin is also silent on the point. Under the circumstances it is perhaps reasonable to doubt the accuracy of this historian of the seventeenth century. In later times Mahmud was regarded as a champion of Islam, and it is not impossible that Firishta has exaggerated the amount of opposition which faced Mahmud. At any rate there is no evidence outside Firishta that this common danger galvanized the Indian states of Northern India into common action."[4]

2. Firishta, full of religious zeal, is a late source[5] and "is always susceptible to minor inaccuracies here and there."[6]

3. There is no reference to this confederacy in Indian literature.

4. Indian epigraphy does not know of this confederacy.

5. There were geographical and other difficulties in sending help to the extreme end of the Punjab.

1. Or earlier in A. D. 990-91.
2. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 91.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 597.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.
5. See *supra*.
6. Sisir Kumar Mitra, *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, Calcutta, 1958, p. 67.

6. The unity said to have been achieved by Hinduism through this confederacy is rather unusual and even unnatural.[1] R. C. Majumdar[2], himself a believer in the Hindu Confederacy theory of Firishta, is aware of "the grave defects in our national character." Speaking of the national characteristics of the Hindus of the time of Anandapala, he says "that even the great leaders were more concerned with personal prestige and selfish interests (i. e. the safety of their own kingdoms and families) than with larger national issues at stake. They were unable to take long views, and incapable of sustained efforts in pursuing a broad national policy. It seems that the conception of a Hindu nationality..... sat very lightly upon the Indians.....it never formed the basis of a settled policy of action overriding all petty individual and narrow interests. This is further illustrated by the fact that Indian generals and soldiers accepted service under Sultan Mahmud and fought his battles.....Even the most barbarous outrage upon women, and the avowed policy of destroying all Hindu temples, so relentlessly pursued by Sultan Mahmud, could not awaken the stiff and sustained opposition of the Hindus on a wide national front."

7. Had the battle been so important in the eyes of the early Muslim historians, they would have cared to furnish its exact date and place which are wanting.

8. An independent analysis of the individual kingdoms and their kings (who are credited with having taken actual part in the battle) proves the hollowness of the point. Ujjain does not appear to have taken part though Bhoja was then ruling over Malwa and was strong enough to send a contingent. He is said in an inscription to have fought with the Turks but is said to have conquered them.[3] Gwalior was subordinate to Kalanjara whose king at this time was Ganda, son of Dhanga. For Ganda's reign

1. See *supra*.
2. 'Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions', *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, p. 350.
3. C. V. Vaidya, III, pp. 44, 158.

we have no epigraphic record or any other contemporary account. He has only been mentioned in rather vague conventional phrases in some late records issued not less than one hundred years after his demise. These too do not provide us with any information of historical importance. There is no mention of any specific occasion when Ganda might have shown his military skill[1] or helped any Hindu ally. The Pratiharas of Kanauj, then a decadent power, were, in our opinion, too weak to send a contingent to the aid of Anandapala. C. V. Vaidya's statement that Kanauj "must have sent a contingent as it was the imperial power of Northern India"[2] attaches undue importance to a nominal power. Delhi and Ajmer were either not yet founded or were not able to take any part in the conflict.[3] Their non-participation has been conceded even by Muhammad Nazim,[4] whose statement[5] that "Firishta is the only author to mention the formation of the league" of Hindu *rajas* may be significant.

9. Firishta does not mention Kashmir, and the *Rajatarangini* also does not allude to any contingent being sent to assist Anandapala on this occasion.[6] This is really strange, because Anandapala had several grounds to expect help from it : geographical nearness, old relationship with the ruling family, and the glamour of the founder-ruler of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir whose name was Sangramaraja (A. D. 1003-1028). Instead, the very name of Anandapala is omitted in the *Rajatarangini*. Our sense of amazement increases when we find that only five years after this Sangramaraja actually helped Anandapala's son Trilochanapala Sahi.[7]

10. The statement of Firishta that ladies contributed to the expenses of the soldiers by selling their ornaments and by receipts

1. S. K. Mitra, *op.cit.*, pp. 71-72.
2. Vol. III, p. 44.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Pp. 89 (Delhi), 215 (Ajmer).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 89, fn. 3.
6. C. V. Vaidya, III, pp. 44-45.
7. *Raj.*, VII. 47-70.

from spinning and other labour is simply an exaggeration. The kings of India were rich enough to support their soldiers and contributions from merchants and from rich temples could have been taken if necessary.[1]

11. Also, he accounts of spoils furnished by Utbi and Firishta indicate that huge wealth had been looted by Mahmud from Bhimnagar or Nagarkot which "was in Shahiya territory" as already shown by ourselves. Utbi refers to 70,000,000 *Shahiya dirhams* of coined money taken away by Mahmud. This could well have been utilized by the Sahis in place of carrying on an all-India subscription campaign for the national defence fund.

12. Firishta's statement that the greater part of the garrison stationed at Nagarkot or the Fort of Bhima had been sent away to the battlefield is rather intriguing and even contradictory; because this situation would not have been created if six important kings of Northern and Central India would have helped the Sahis.

The observation of Edward C. Sachau[2] seems to be near the truth : "When Alberuni entered India,.....The Pala dynasty,[3] once ruling over Kabulistan and the Panjab, had disappeared from the theatre of history, and their former dominions were in the firm grasp of King Mahmud and under the administration of his slaves, of Turkish descent. The princes of North-Western India had been too narrow-minded, too blind in their self-conceit, duly to appreciate the danger threatening from Ghazna, and too little politic in due time to unite for a common defence and repulse of the enemy. Single-handed Anandapala had had to fight it out, and had succumbed; but the others were to follow, each one in his own turn."

We may conclude this discussion by quoting H. C. Ray[4], who has made an "analytical study of all the Hindu dynasties"

1. This argument has been provided by C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 44.
2. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, Preface, pp. xliii-xliv.
3. Wrongly so called; really, the Hindu Sahi dynasty whose last four royal names ended in *pala* (पाल).
4. *The Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediaeval Period)*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1936, pp. 1211-12.

of Northern India during the early medieval period, and complains of utter lack of a "central theme in their political history": "I am rather sceptical about the stories of the later writers that they (that is, "the Hindu dynasties that ruled during the period under survey") ever showed any genuine appreciation of the danger threatening their independence and religion sufficient to unite them in a common effort to check the advance of the enemy. .....For the greater part of this period we have to deal with separate units whose only political contact with their neighbour was when they fought with each other or combined to destroy a hated and powerful rival."[1]

C. V. Vaidya[2] has considered the causes of the defeat of the Hindus at the battle of Chhachh in an admirable manner and has attributed it to their complete lack of grip, resourcefulness and a sense of patriotic self-interest in the success of the fighting and to their defective military tactics.

Recently a good analysis has been presented by Nagendra Singh[3] of the basic reason for Rajput failure against the Islamic inroads of the eleventh and twelfth centuries A. D. As he says,

1. A suitable example of this kind of combination in our period is provided by the anti-Pratihara upsurge under the leadership of Vidyadhara Chandella for which see *infra*.

2. Vol. III, pp. 47-48. Also see *JBRS*, 41 (4), Dec. 1955, pp. 526-528.

3. *The Theory of Force and Organisation of Defence in Indian Constitutional History from Earliest Times to 1947*, Asia Publishing House, 1969, pp. 104-133 (chapter V : 'The Organisation of Defence in Rajput Feudalism'). He has referred to the War of A. D. 1008-09 on pages 109, 125 (in detail), 126, 128 and 130. Although, unlike ourselves, he believes in the theory of the Hindu Confederacies (organised in his opinion in A. D. 991, 1001, 1008, 1019/1021 and on three later occasions), it does not necessitate our differing from him on the points of disunity and feudal levies. The whole chapter is highly thought-provoking.

it was the "fundamental lack of political, religious, and social unity in the country that made possible the success of foreign invasions despite the inherent geographical difficulties which had to be faced by the invaders."[1] He is of the view that "the institution of standing armies passed away with the ancient world and both in India and in Europe a decentralised structure of society and politics had come into existence which made the king dependent upon a class of nobility that provided the essential paraphernalia and man-power for the defence of the State."[2] "Standing armies were an exception and feudal levies the normal method of raising a force."[3] "Thus, the inevitable conclusion is that the larger the force built on the basis of feudal levies, the greater was the danger of its being a heterogeneous mass incapable of being welded into a single homogeneous command."[4] "It is, therefore, not surprising that when victory was within sight of the Rajput confederacy.....the unforeseen incident connected with the elephant of Anandapala which took fright and fled from the battlefield caused disaster as it was taken to be a signal of defeat and the Rajput forces dispersed in utter confusion in all directions. This clearly indicates that there was no regular military gradation of commanders or a line of rulers or officers by which command would descend. Even if Anandapala had fled from the battlefield, his place should have been taken by the next in command, but since each ruler was fighting at the head of the force under his command, it was impossible for any co-ordination to be effected except to the extent to which it was planned before the battle. Hence, the slightest deviation from the pre-arranged and agreed plan or the happening of any unforeseen event meant separate action being taken by the separate armies commanded by separate monarchs with the effect that confusion could only result leading to disastrous consequences on the battlefield. In short, there was no single army under a single general but a number of armies under their respective generals

1. *Ibid.*, p. 133 ; also see pp. 104-105, 131-133.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

creating a rabble crowd moving in different directions the moment the enemy manoeuvred an action which the confederal forces had not anticipated."[1]

Hind Ruler's Treaty with Ghazni on Ignominious Terms : End of Contest with the Sultan A. D. 1010

When the ruler (*malik*) of Hind had witnessed the calamities which had inflicted ruin on his country and his subjects in consequence of his contests with the Sultan, and had seen their effects far and near, he became satisfied that he could not contend with him. So he sent a friendly embassy to the Sultan offering to pay an annual tribute and fifty elephants, each equal to two ordinary ones in size and strength, laden with the products and rarities of his country, and to send a contingent of 2000 soldiers to serve under him, so that the Sultan might spare his territories from attack in future. The Sultan agreed to these terms.

The observance of this treaty between Anandapala, king of Hind, and Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni led to the establishment of peace and development of trade between Hind and Khurasan.[2]

The event may be placed in the early part of the year 1010 as it is mentioned immediately after Mahmud's invasion and plunder of Narayana (Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 36) that took place in the winter season of 1009-10. The context compels us to believe that Narayana was a vassal state under king Anandapala,[3] as it is said to be situated in "the middle of Hind."

1. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
2. Utbi (Elliot, II, p. 36) is the only source for this treaty. He does not name the king of Hind who is obviously Anandapala, because on most of the occasions especially in the beginning the term Hind means not India or Northern India, but simply the territory of the Sahi rulers. Muhammad Nazim's view (p. 102) that the unnamed king of Hind was the king of Narayana or Narayanapura is wrong.
3. This view has not yet been expressed by anybody else.

Helping Muslim Suzerain Mahmud against Hindu King of Thanesar A. D. 1011-12

Sultan Mahmud took full advantage of his treaty with the ruler (*malik*) of Hind; and he attacked and conquered Multan and Ghor in A. H. 401[1] (late 1010 and summer of 1011 respectively).

In A. H. 402[2](=A. D. 1011-12) he proceeded for the conquest of Thanesar (Karnal district) famous for its idol named Chakrasvamin[3] and a certain breed of large elephants celebrated for military purposes.[4] When Anandapala learnt the news of this attack, he offered to deliver fifty elephants if the Sultan spared Thanesar which was held in great veneration by the Hindus for its idol called Chakrasvamin. But the Sultan declined to alter his plans, saying that he stood for rooting out the worship of idols from the face of all India. This answer was communicated to the *raja* of Delhi under whose immediate protection Thanesar was. In spite of the open declaration of the Sultan's motive, Anandapala, being his subject and tributary, not only

1. This date is given by Firishta (tr. Briggs, 1, pp. 28 and 29).
2. This date, given by Gardizi (a contemporary authority), Nizamuddin Ahmad and Firishta, has been adopted by us; Utbi, who places the Thanesar compaign after the Nandin (Ninduna) expedition, had a confusion in his mind on this particular matter (*Struggle*, p. 23, fn. 7). Elliot, W. Haig and M. Nazim have accepted A. D. 1014-15 (A. H. 405) on the authority of Utbi (who is vague), Ibn al-Asir and the *Rauzatus Safa*. Mohammad Habib favours A. D. 1011-1012: "The Thaneswar campaign was undertaken during the life of Anandpal; consequently the Ninduna campaign which was directed against his son, Trilocanpal, could not have preceded it" (*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, 1st edn., Aligarh, 1927, p. 32, fn. 14; 2nd edn., S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1951, p. 34, fn.).
3. *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 117.
4. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 40.

sent to his aid the promised contingent of 2000 men, but also ordered his merchants and shopkeepers to look after the needs of the commissariat of the Muslim army.[1] Hence he has been rightly compared with "Porus, who bravely opposed Alexander but later submitted and helped him in subduing other Indian rulers."[2]

Another Raja named Ram,[3] ruler of Dera,[4] probably a devotee of the idol, advanced at the head of a large army to contest the passage of the river Sutlej, near the place where it debouches into the plains.[5] Ram took up a strong position along the bank of the river, with his rear resting on a hill and his front protected by a line of elephants. The Hindus fought bravely but ultimately left the field. The Sultan won the day but his loss on the field of battle was much heavier than that of the vanquished enemy.[6]

The Sultan now continued his march to Thanesar. The Raja of that place fled at his approach. Mahmud captured and plundered

1. For the conquest of Thanesar see Firishta (tr. Briggs, I, pp. 29-31). Our account is mostly based on his book.
2. R. C. Majumdar, 'Hindu Reaction to Muslim Invasions'. *D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1950, p. 351.
3. Gardizi, p. 71.
4. *Ibid.* Dera may probably be identified with Dera Gopipur, District Kangra, or with Deohra, capital of Jubbal State, Punjab (Nazim, p. 103, fn. 7).
5. Utbi, p. 265, but he does not mention the name of the river Sutlej. According to Nazim (p. 103, fn. 8), this is the only river which fits in with the description of the battle.
6. This paragraph is based on Muhammad Nazim (pp. 103-104). Farrukhi, a panegyrist of Mahmud, regards Ram as one of the five important kings of the time, *viz.*, the Shah, Nanda, Ram, the Ray and the Kur, who feared Mahmud's sword most (*vide* Nazim who quotes the original passage on p. 204). These rulers I identify with Trilochanapala Sahi, Vidyadhara Chandella, Ram of Dera, Chandar Ray of Sharwa and Kunwar (*or* Gurjara-Pratihara) Rajyapala/Trilochanapala of Kanauj respectively.

the town. He wanted to proceed to Delhi; but for fear of encirclement by Multan rebels and Anandapala he had to abandon the plan for the present. However, Anandapala conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Mahmud, that the latter returned peaceably to Ghazni.

A recent writer[1] indicates the significance of the Ghaznavids' Thanesar compaign in the following words :

"The period 1010-13 A. D. witnessed the attempts of the Shahis, who considered continuation of struggle as futile, to establish some sort of understanding with their adversaries. They offered to assist them in imperial designs in Central Asia as well as in India. In return, what they wanted was that the religious feelings should not be violated, but the request went unheeded and the political compromise broke down."

Matrimonial Alliance with Kashmir's Prime Minister Tunga

Towards the end of the reign of Anandapala (or at the very beginning of the reign of his son Trilochanapala) the Sahis contracted a matrimonial alliance with Tunga, the prime minister[2] of Kashmir. This was the marriage between Bimba,[3] the daughter of Trilochanapala Sahi, and Kandarpasimha, the only son[4] of Tunga. Thus Bimba, a Sahi daughter, was the daughter-in-law of Tunga.[5]

1. Sheo Ratan Lal Verma, 'A Note on the Shahi-Ghaznavid Relations', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Thirtieth Session, Bhagalpur, 1968 (Patna, 1969), p. 55.
2. *Raj.*, VI. 333. According to our calculation Tunga was prime minister of Kashmir for 35 or 34 years (A. D. 980/1-1015).
3. *Raj.*, VII. 103 (*suta Saheh*, सुता शाहेः) Here '*the* Sahi' in our opinion means Trilochanapala Sahi as warranted by the context. The chronology (suggested and) accepted by ourselves also favours this identification.
4. *Raj.*, VII. 73.
5. *Raj.*, VII. 103.

From the *Rajatarangini* we know that Kandarpasimha had three wives in all, *viz.*, Mamma[1] (a concubine and mother of two sons), Kshema[2] and Bimba.[3] Hence it may be suggested that Kandarpasimha married Bimba at a comparatively advanced age and this adds to the political colour of the transaction.

It is of interest to note that Tunga, notwithstanding his modest origin,[4] secured a Sahi princess (*suta Saheh*) for his son.[5]

Ugrabhuti, the Teacher and Instructor of Shah Anandapala

An important piece of information about Anandapala comes from a chapter (ch. 13, p. 65 in original text, pp. 135-136 in Vol. I of Eng. tr.) of *Alberuni's India* dealing with the grammatical and metrical literature of the Hindus and not utilised so far by any historian (not even by Cunningham, Elliot, Stein or Ray). While enumerating important titles of books on the science of grammar Alberuni mentions eight books, the last being *Sishyahitavritti* (शिष्यहितावृत्ति)[6] composed by Ugrabhuti. This "author was the teacher and instructor of Shah Anandapala, the son of Jayapala, who ruled in our time."[7] After having composed the book he sent it to Kashmir for adoption. The people of Kashmir, who were haughtily conservative in such things, did not adopt it. Ugrabhuti complained of this to the Shah, and the Shah, in accordance with the duty of a pupil towards his master, promised him to make him

1. *Raj.*, VII. 104.
2. *Ibid.*, VII. 102.
3. By combining *Raj.*, VII. 73, 103.
4. Originally a Khasa herdman of buffaloes belonging to Parnotsa, Tunga started his career in Kashmir as a letter-carrier (VI. 318-319) and rose to the highest position in the state (VI. 333).
5. Stein, *Raj.*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VII. 103.
6. The word *Sishyahita* (शिष्यहित) has been deciphered by Professor Kielhorn of Gottingen (*Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 301 : Annotations by Edward C. Sachau).
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 135.

attain his wish. So he gave orders to send 200,000 *dirhams* and presents of a similar value to Kashmir, to be distributed among those who studied the book of his master. The consequence was that they all rushed upon the book, and would not copy any other grammar but this one. The book of Ugrabhuti became the fashion and highly prized.

This story throws welcome light on Anandapala's academic taste, patronage of Sanskrit learning,[1] and high sense of duty towards his teachers and instructors.

Death

No source except Firishta furnishes a clue to the date of the death of Anandapala. Having finished the account for the year A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012-13), Firishta begins that for the year A. H. 404 (equivalent to the year A. D. 1013-14) in the following manner:

"In the year A. H. 404 (A. D. 1013), Mahmud marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated on the mountains of Balnat, then in the possession of the *Rajo* of Lahore. Anandapala had lately died, and his son, Jayapala the Second,[2] had succeeded to the government."[3]

From this it may be supposed that Anandapala had died sometime in the year 1013 A. D., a few months before the campaigning season of 1013-14 started.

1. It may incidentally be noted that the inscriptions of the Hindu Sahi kings discovered so far are in the Sanskrit language.
2. This is a mistake of the translator. It should have been Trilochanapala.
3. Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 31-32.

CHAPTER VII

TRILOCHANAPALA (TAROJANAPALA)

A. D. 1013-1021

Anandapala, who died sometime in the middle of A. D. 1013, was succeeded by his son Trilochanapala. Their relationship is indicated by Utbi (p. 224)[1], Alberuni[2] and Firishta.[3] Alberuni[4] calls him by the name of Tarojanapala which is only a misreading of the Sanskrit name given by Kalhana.[5] Numerous other misreadings of the name are available in Muslim sources.[6]

Difficulties in the Reconstruction of the History of Trilochanapala

With the accession of Trilochanapala, the dynasty comes into a fuller picture and its politics merges with general Indian politics assuming special importance. Lack of care and of exhaustive use of secondary sources on the part of our scholars has, however, marred the right perspective and led to ingeneous suggestions and most "original" theories that are really of no use at all.

There are many difficulties in the reconstruction of the history of the period. Apart from the conflicting dates for Mahmud's Indian expeditions making their proper sequence difficult, the varied interpretations given to the names of places attacked by him, and the historians' lack of the geographical knowledge of the areas

1. Mentioned by Nazim (p. 89 and fn. 4) in his account of the battle of A. D. 1008-09. Read with Hodivala's correction.
2. Tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 14.
3. Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 31-32.
4. Tr. Sachau, II, p. 13.
5. *Raj.*, VII. 47, 52, 60-61, 63-65.
6. See *infra*.

involved[1], the following difficulties deserve special care and consideration :

1. Giving different and unreasonably long reign-periods to Dhanga and his son Ganda and the shortest possible one to the latter's son Vidyadhara of the Chandella dynasty of Khajuraho and Kalanjara. In so doing, it is conveniently forgotten that Dhanga, who voluntarily retired from the world by forsaking his life at the sacred confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna at Prayaga, had a very long life of over one hundred years.[2] Naturally his son and grandson would have short reigns for themselves. I fix the periods of these reigns as follows :

Dhanga : A. D. 950 to 1002/3
Ganda : A. D. 1002/3 to 1010
Vidyadhara : A. D. 1010 to 1025

From the persons's birth to his grandson's death there will be 1025−(1002−100)=123 years in the present case which fits in well with 122 years from Babar to Akbar and 124 years from Akbar to Shahjahan. Thus Vidyadhara might have died in about 1025 A.D. after an eventful reign. How people imagine Ganda living in 1019 and 1021 is simply wonderful ! His reign was necessarily brief. First, his father Dhanga had a long life of more than one hundred years. Secondly, for his (Ganda's) reign we have no epigraphic record or any other contemporary account; he has only been mentioned in rather vague conventional phrases in some late records, issued not less than one hundred years after his demise.[3] Thirdly, "Prabhasa, the Chief Minister (*Mantrimukhya*) of Dhanga, continued to be at the helm of affairs. His son Sivanaga, it appears, served Vidyadhara, the successor of Ganda, as minister.

1. Pointed out by Lieut. Colonel K. A. Rashid in *Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference*, Fifth Session, Khairpur, 1955, p. 123.
2. Mentioned in verse 55 of Khajuraho (Visvanatha Temple) Stone Inscription of Dhanga of V. S. 1059 renewed by Jayavarman in Samvat 1173 (*EI*, Vol. 1, p. 146).
3. *DHNI*, II, p. 687. S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

This again supports the contention that Ganda did not enjoy a long reign."[1]

2. Confounding and differing abbreviations, *viz.*, Nanda[2] and Bida[3] (*v. l.* Banda)[4] of the name of the Chandella king Vidyadhara in the Perso-Arabic script and scholars' treating Nanda and Bida as two separate Chandella princes, *viz.*, Ganda and Vidyadhara respectively[5] and relegating Bida (*i. e.*, Vidyadhara) to the position of a Crown-Prince in order to maintain apparent consistency. H. C. Ray[6] has proved with great ability that Nanda is a mistake not for Ganda but for Bida, which can be corrupted into ***Nanda*** (ending in a long *a*) much more easily than ***Ganda*** (ending in a short *a*) and is approximately the Arabic phonetic equivalent of ***Vidya***, the first part of the name of Vidyadhara, the son of Ganda. Ibn al-Asir, who lived within a century of the death of Mahmud, clearly says that the person who killed Rajaypal (Rajyapala), Ray of Kanauj, was king Bida of Kajuraha. As this statement of Ibn al-Asir agrees with epigraphic evidence, there remains absolutely no doubt that about 409-10 A. H. Ganda was already dead.[7]

1. S. K. Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-74.
2. Given by Utbi, Farrukhi (*Diwan*, f. 4b, mentioned in Nazim, p. 204), Gardizi (*KZA*, p. 76, mentioned in *DHNI*, I, p. 604, fn. 4 and p. 608, fn. 1), Nizamuddin and Firishta.
3. Given by Ibn al-Asir.
4. This variant is noticed in some MSS. by the editor Tornberg (Ibn al-Asir's *TKA*, Vol. IX, 1863, p. 218). Discussed in *DHNI*, II, p. 688, fn. 4.
5. It was Cunningham who first suggested that Firishta's ***Nanda*** was a misreading for ***Ganda***; see his *ASR* for 1862-63-64-65, Vol. II (Simla, 1871), p. 452. This has been accepted by most scholars. For a list of older scholars see *DHNI*, I, p. 606, fn. 1. The mistake persists even today.
6. *DHNI*, I, p. 606 (in the chapter dealing with 'the Later Gurjara-Pratiharas of Kanauj'); II, p. 688.
7. *Ibid.* Also see S. K. Mitra (*op. cit.*, p. 73), who, unlike other historians, has not erred on this point.

3. Corruptions beyond recognition of the royal name Trilochanapala in the Perso-Arabic script. H. C. Ray has shown with the help of a table "that there is no inherent improbality that the name Trilochanapala might be corrupted in Arabic script into Baru, Paru, Taru, or Naru Jaypal."[1] Several other variants are also available.[2] Ray, however, could not offer any concrete solution to this problem, though he rightly suspected "that all these names" could not "refer to one and the same person, *viz.*, Trilochanapala"[3] of the Gurjara-Pratihara dynasty.[4]

4. Confusion among royal names like Puru-Jaipal (really Trilochanapala), (Rai) Jaipal, Rajaypal, Kuwar Raj, Kuwar Ray and their variants as given in the Arabic and Persian histories of India. They are to be identified very cautiously according to the context. Mohammad Habib[5] correctly identified Utbi's Pur-i Jaipal, who fought with Chand Rai and was later defeated on the Rahib by Mahmud, with Trilochanapala, son of Anandapala of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. But several persons have miserably failed in it even though it had been suggested long ago by Habib (1927) and Nazim (1931).

5. Frequent confusion between kings Trilochanapala Sahi (Shah of the Punjab) and Trilochanapala Pratihara (Ray of Kanauj and Bari). Really speaking, there were two Trilochanapalas, not one, belonging to Hindu Sahi and Gurjara-Pratihara dynasties respectively. It was Muhammad Nazim[6] who made this point clear

1. *DHNI*, 1, p. 602.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 600-608. Elliot also collected a good number of variants (Vol. II, pp. 45-48, 426-427).
3. *DHNI*, I, p. 602.
4. The solution, hinted at by Mohammad Habib (*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, 1st edn., Aligarh, 1927, p. 39, fn. 19 and p. 43, fn. 23), was elaborately put forth by Muhammad Nazim in 1931 for which see the paragraph following the next one.
5. *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, 1st edn., 1927, p. 39, fn. 19 and p. 43, fn. 23=2nd edn., 1951, p. 41, fn. 2 and p. 45, fn. 2.
6. Pp. 204-206 (Appendix K : 'The Two Trilochanpals').

with the help of three extracts from Farrukhi (ff. 1b, 4b, 16a-16b) and by reference to Alberuni, Ibn al-Asir and the Jhusi inscription of A. D. 1027. Extracts from Farrukhi clearly show (i) that Shah and Ray were the titles of two distinct rajas, and (ii) that the Trilochanapala who tried to prevent the passage of the river Rahut or Ruhut was called the Shah, while the other raja bearing the same name, who fled from Bari, was known as the Ray. But as Shah was the title of the rulers of the Hindu Shahiya Dynasty, Trilochanapala the Shah could not be the ruler of Kanauj or Bari, who was known as Ray. Further, according to Alberuni (II, p. 13) and Ibn al-Asir (IX, 219), Trilochanapala of the Hindu Shahiya Dynasty was killed in A.H. 412 (A. D. 1021); while Trilochanapala, Ray of Kanauj, lived at least up to A. D. 1027, according to the Jhusi inscription (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 18, pp. 33-35).

I have put forth at the very beginning the points creating confusion and difficulty together with their solutions known so far. This will enable us to proceed with the narrative without any obstruction and lengthy discussion in the middle of it.

Division of Reign

Taking the cue from a *sloka* in the *Rajatarangini* (VII. 65) I propose to divide the reign of Trilochanapala into three periods. The *sloka* in question is :

त्रिलोचनोऽपि संश्रित्य हास्तिकं स्वपदाच्च्युतः ।
सयत्नोऽभून्महोत्साहः प्रत्याहर्तुं जयश्रियम् ॥ ६५ ॥

M. A. Stein's translation : 65. Trilocanapala displayed great resolution also after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants endeavoured to recover victory.

R. S. Pandit's translation : Trilocana on his part having fallen from his high estate endeavoured with great energy relying on his force of elephants to reclaim the halo of victory. 65

I translate it slightly differently : Even after he had fallen from his position, that is, lost his capital (and its adjoining territory) [as a result of the Turkish War], Trilochana[pala], depending on HASTIKA (Hastina or Hastinapura), *i. e.*, making Hastika his

(new capital and) base of operations, displayed great energy and made effort at recovering the glory of victory. [65]

Keeping the content of the *sloka* in view, the reign of Trilochanapala may be divided into three periods :

Period I : mid-1013 to mid-1014 : War against the Turks and Fall from Position (तुरुष्कसमरं स्वपदाच्च्युतिश्च).

Period II : mid-1014 to September 1018 : Hectic Activity Depending on HASTIKA (Hastina *or* elephantry[1]) and Display of Great Energy (हास्तिकसंभयो महोत्साहश्च).

Period III : October 1018 to mid-1021 : Grim Resistance against Ferocious Foreign Foe and Effort at Recovery of Victory (जयश्रीप्रत्याहरणयत्नः).

This last period may further be subdivided into the following sections :

A. October 1018 to March 1019 : Avoiding a Direct Confrontation with Mahmud during his First Doab Invasion.

B. April 1019 to September 1020 (eighteen months) : Preparations for the Final Clash with Mahmud during Inter-Invasion Period.

C. October 1020 to mid-1021 : The Last Encounter with Mahmud during his Second Doab Invasion.

We now take up the periods one by one.

1. I do not exclude the possibility of Kalhana's use of a pun on HASTIKA as he was a good poet too, besides being a great historian.

PERIOD I

MID-1013 TO MID-1014

WAR AGAINST THE TURKS AND FALL FROM POSITION

The two main points of Trilochanapala's policy during the first year of his reign were administrative reorganisation and effort at imperial defence.

Two Provincial Governors or *Rajas* of the Punjab

We are in a position to announce that we have been able to discover in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* two provincial governors (*rajas*) of the last Hindu king of the Punjab (Trilochanapala Sahi), who are Prajji's unnamed grandfather[1] (*or*, to be more exact, one whose direct descendant was Prajji) of Saindhava (the Salt Range or the region between the Sindhu and the Jhelum including the Salt Range and Nandana) and Kamaliya's grandfather[2] *Raja* Bhijja of Takkavishaya (Central Punjab). According to our calculation the probable dates of their appointment were A. D. 1013 (at the age of 23) and sometime between 1014 and 1018 (at the age of 19/23) respectively. Their terms of office (at least in the Punjab) ended with the Muslim occupation of the areas concerned (1014 and 1020/1 respectively). This conclusion of ours is the result of the following analysis.

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1. This relationship is our conjecture. Also see the following note.
2. This relationship is given by Kalhana himself (VIII. 1190). The first relationship given in the foregoing footnote has been inferred from this, because Prajji, his younger brother Sujji and Kamaliya were contemporaries (VIII. 1088-1093, 2062-2064).

Kalhana has given details of two brave families originally of the Punjab that migrated to Kashmir and played important roles in the history of that kingdom in the first half of the eleventh century especially between A. D. 1121 and 1135. The first family whose account starts earlier (with VIII. 1042) consists of three brothers, *viz.*, Prajji (VIII. 1042), Sujji (VIII. 1046, 1110, 2184) and Lakshmaka (VIII. 2177). They belonged to the Saindhava[1] country (VIII. 1042) which was a good recruiting ground for brave soldiers.[2] Of these, Prajji was appointed by King Sussala of Kashmir to the charge of the 'Gate' (VIII. 1042)[3] sometime in November-December 1121 A. D.[4] His younger brother Sujji was placed in the post of Chief Justice (VIII. 1046) also about the same time.[5] Their sons (VIII. 2184, 1228), married granddaughter (VIII. 1922), cousins (VIII. 2178, 2179, 2183, 1090) and other relatives (VIII. 2157, 2180, 2043) have also been mentioned. No details of their father and grandfather have been provided except that their grandfather had at least two sons, because their cousins have been mentioned.

The second family is composed of another set of three brothers, *i. e.*, Kamaliya (VIII. 1091, 1194), Sangiya or Sangika (VIII. 1093,

1. The epithet Saindhava given to Prajji could also mean 'descendant of Sindhu'. But his foreign (*i. e.*, non-Kashmirian) descent is clearly indicated in VIII. 1148-49.
2. The Saindhavaka soldiers have been mentioned in the ***Rajatarangini*** (VIII. 1868, 2007). Brahmanas from the Salt Range used to take military service until recent times (Stein, ***Raj.***, Eng. tr., note on VIII. 1868*)*.
3. Prajji, a man of rare qualities (VIII. 1149-1150) is not heard of after VIII. 1148-1150 the date of whose event is the early part of 1123 A. D.
4. This date has been derived by us by combining and comparing VIII. 1037, 1051, 1053.
5. The bearded (VIII. 1867) Sujji had quite an eventful career in Kashmir history and a tragic end, having been murdered (VIII. 2139-2141) on 9 June 1133 A. D. (VIII. 2185).

3348) and one more brother (VIII. 1093, 2316) who remains unnamed[1] but whose son Prithvipala (VIII. 1093) has been mentioned. These were sons of *bhubharta* Lavaraja (VIII. 1091, 1194) and grandsons of *Raja* Bhijja (VIII. 1190), born of a race of Kshatriyas (VIII. 3348), and belonged to Takkavishaya (VIII. 1091). This region was now under the Turks and had been constituted a *Turushka vishaya* (VIII. 3346). Although *Raja* Bhijja had taken an active part in the *Hammirasangara*, *i. e.*, War against the Amir (VIII. 1190), the Turks[2] made his son Lavaraja the governor (*bhubhrta*) of Takkavishaya (VIII. 1091). This arrangement continued for some time. A section of the Kshatriya community had its native place within the territory of the Turushkas. It had to maintain itself amidst the mass of the enemies. So it had learned nothing but cruelty. During the times of strife when King Sussala (r. A. D. 1112-1120, 1121-1128) was wholly taken up with fighting his adversaries[3], the members of this community including Kamaliya, Sangiya and their nephew Prithvipala found employment[4] in Kashmir (VIII. 3346-3348, 1196 by implication). Kamaliya, who was as strong as an elephant (VIII. 2318), gradually became influential (VIII. 2062) and established matrimonial connections with Rilhana (VIII. 2064) who was a trusted minister of the Kashmir State and noted for pious gifts (VIII. 3364-3370).[5] Of the three persons mentioned above belonging to the Kshatriya community of Takkavishaya, Sangiya

1. Probably he met a premature death.
2. Who wanted to follow a conciliatory policy.
3. Sussala when restored ascended the throne on 21 May 1121 A. D. after a gap of six months and twelve days (VIII. 954).
4. Probably in the military department. This is inferrable from their presumably large number, Sussala's pressure of circumstances and the rather exclusively military activities of their three known leaders (VIII. 1091-1094, 1188-1196, 2316-2318).
5. Kamaliya and his nephew Prithvipala are not heard of after VIII. 2316-2318 the date of whose event is the end of 1135 A D. (compare VIII. 2309 which offers the date 24 September 1135 A.D.).

became well-known for his religious foundations (VIII. 3346-3351).[1]

Prajji, Sangiya and Prithvipala have been called *rajabijins* (राजबीजिन्) (VIII. 1042, 3348, 2316 respectively), *i.e.*, direct descendants of some *rajas*. A *raja* is either a sovereign ruler or a feudatory king or a governor. Here the first meaning is excluded because the Punjab, in which Saindhava and Takka countries were included, was under the Hindu Shahiya dynasty and they (the *rajas*) are not mentioned as scions of this family. Thus Prajji, Sangiya and the latter's nephew Prithvipala were descended either from feudatory kings or governors of the Sahis. Trilochanapala being the last Hindu king of the Punjab, it may safely be said that the Sahi ruler in question, under whom the forefathers of Prajji and Sangiya worked, was no other than Trilochanapala.

Fortunately a useful hint is provided in the *Rajatarangini* itself. It is stated by Kalhana that whatever the self-respecting *Raja* Bhijja did for his country's sake in the *Hammirasangara* ('War against the Amir') came to serve as a model for patriots and warriors of later generations. Says King Sussala to Kamaliya : "I wish to do today what king Bhijja, that proud grandfather [of yours], did for his country's sake in the battle with *Hammira*" (VIII. 1190). "It is to be regretted that we receive no details regarding the historical event here alluded to...Can we suppose that Kalhana refers here to a heroic resistance made by Bhijja, Kamaliya's grandfather, to *Hammira*, i.e. Mahmud of Ghazna ? The latter is certainly meant by this name in VII. 53 sqq. But the period intervening between his death (A.D. 1030) and the time of Sussala, nearly a century, seems too long for this, if we take into account the shortness of an Indian generation. It is possible that the title Hammira is used here for one of Mahmud's successors."[2]

I, however, feel inclined to identify this Hammira with Mahmud of Ghazni on the following grounds :

1. It appears Sangiya had a long life so that he has been mentioned at the end of the Kashmir chronicle as well. This mention may also tend to show that he was the youngest of the three and probably survived Kamaliya.
2. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, note on VIII. 1190.

1. Kalhana himself has used Hammira (VII. 53, 64) in the sense of Amir Mahmud of Ghazni. It is good if he is enabled to use this word in a uniform sense throughout his work.

2. The word has been used in such a way as if the historical event alluded to were a well-known event whose details were not required by the readers. Also, all the other events, even though slightly alluded to by Kalhana, were important and not obscure.[1] Hence this event also should be treated as of the same variety.

3. Muslim histories do not speak of any Hindu governor's rebellion in the Central Punjab (Takkadesa).

4. Had there been any rebellion in the Central Punjab in the time of some successor of Mahmud in which Bhijja might have taken an active part, the rebel's (Bhijja's) son Lavaraja would not have been appointed its *bhubharta* or governor. He could have got this appointment only when he would have been the son of the last Hindu governor of the province.

5. The only real obstacle to my proposed identification is "the shortness of an Indian generation" as Stein puts it. But this difficulty may be obviated by presuming that Bhijja was appointed *raja* at a comparatively younger age when he was full of vigour, energy and enthusiasm for work. Of course, the longevity of the three generations has to be pre-supposed, and this is not improbable. Our calculation in this case[2] is based on the pattern of "145 years from Samudragupta's birth to his grandson Kumaragupta I's death (A. D. 310-455)".[3] This stand of ours is supported by an indirect hint supplied by the *Rajatarangini* itself. It is this that Prajji, the eldest of the three known brothers, is not heard of after VIII. 1148-

1. Examples are: the War against the Turushkas (तुरुष्कसमरे, VII. 51) of A.D. 1013-14 (VII. 47-70), Mahmud's first Kashmir invasion of A.D. 1015-16 (तुरुष्काहवे, VII. 118).
2. And in the case of the Saindhava governor.
3. Bhijja b. 995, Lavaraja b. 1030, Kamaliya's elder brother b. 1065, Kamaliya b. 1070, Sangiya b. 1075. Similarly, Prajji's grandfather b. 990, Prajji's father b. 1025, Prajji b. 1060, Sujji b. 1065, Lakshmaka b. 1070.

1150 the date of whose event is A. D. 1123. According to the 120-year theory for three complete generations (from the birth of the person to his grandson's death), the age of Prajji at that time will be 48 years[1] (in place of 63 years). Thus his age is not so advanced as to make us believe that he was dead. His non-involvement in his brother Sujji's affairs is simply unthinkable, because the *Rajatarangini* is full of instances of their joint work. This excludes his remaining alive after 1123 without being mentioned in the Kashmir Chronicle. Hence we are compelled to surmise that Prajji died sometime in A. D. 1123 at an advanced age (say, at the age of 63 years) which proves our point. Prajji's grandfather and Bhijja become almost exact contemporaries and the Hammira of *Raj.*, VIII. 1190 is Amir Mahmud and not "one of Mahmud's successors."

Thus, in the present case, Kalhana gives us the name (Bhijja), caste (Kshatriya) and jurisdiction (Takkavishaya) of the governor and his relationship with his known direct descendant (grandfather); and, by referring to the fierce contest between this Hindu governor (*raja*) and the Turushka (VIII. 3346) Amir (VIII. 1190) (Mahmud of Ghazni), he enables us to recognise his suzerain (Trilochanapala) and fix his (governor's) date.

We are less fortunate in the case of Prajji's forefather. Prajji's forefather was a *raja* who is not named nor is his relation with Prajji indicated. Saindhava stands for his region of origin; strictly speaking, his jurisdiction is not known; it may either be Saindhava (which, however, we tentatively accept) or a province to the east of the Jhelum. On the basis of Sangiya's contemporaneity with Prajji and Sujji and his (Sangiya's) grandfather Bhijja taking an active part in the *Hammirasangara*, and taking into account the date of Prajji (A. D. 1060-1123) fixed by us on an independent clue from the *Rajatarangini*, we are led to assume that the Saindhava *raja* (governor) was Prajji's grandfather.

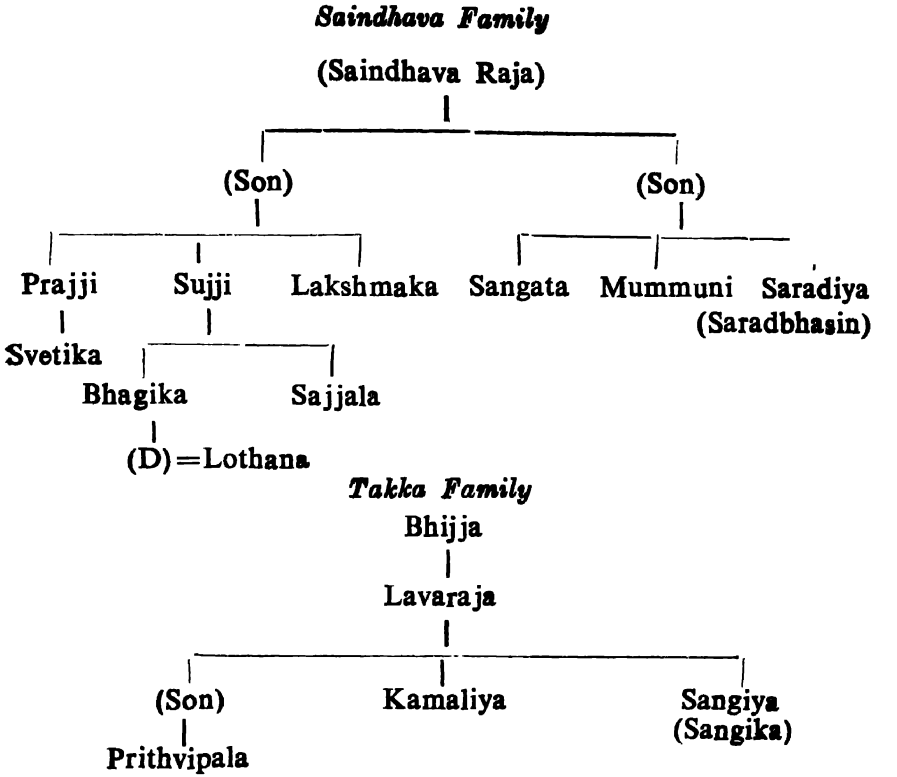
Of these two governors, the one of Saindhava who remains unnamed seems to be a senior contemporary of *Raja* Bhijja of

1. Prajji's grandfather b. 1015, Prajji's father b. 1045, Prajji b. 1075.

Takkavishaya, because the account of his descendants (Prajji and Sujji) starts earlier[1] in the *Rajatarangini*; their last mention[2] also stops earlier; their establishment of relationship with some influential contemporary[3] takes place earlier; and the married granddaughter of Sujji, Prajji's younger brother, is referred to (VIII. 1922), while we do not hear anything of the sort in the case of the Takka brothers, Kamaliya and Sangiya, grandsons of Bhijja. Also, the Saindhava *raja*, if he was Prajji's grandfather, had at least two sons, because Sujji's cousins are named.

Below we present the two genealogical trees that we have prepared on the basis of the *Rajatarangini* references.

1. Saindhava brothers : Prajji, VIII. 1042; Sujji, VIII. 1046. Takka group : Kamaliya, VIII. 1091; Sangika and Prithvipala, VIII. 1091.
2. Prajji, VIII. 1148-1150; Sujji, VIII. 2139-2141 (murder), 2185 (date of murder). Prithvipala, VIII. 2316; Kamaliya, VIII. 2318; Sangiya, VIII. 3346-3351.
3. (a) Sujji with Chitraratha, VIII. 2043. Chitraratha's last mention, VIII. 2355 (death); his elder brother Lotharatha's mention, VIII. 2252. (b) Kamaliya with Rilhana, VIII. 2064. Rilhana's last mention, VIII. 3364-3370 (pious gifts); mention of his younger brother Sumanas, VIII. 3355-3360.



First Major Encounter with Mahmud (A. D. 1013-14) : Battles of Nandana and the Taushi : Loss of Saindhava and the State Capital

The reign of Trilochanapala began and ended with a major encounter with Amir Mahmud, the Yamini Turk ruler of Ghazni, on each occasion.

The first encounter came within a few months of his coming to the throne. There was no provocation on his part. Also, he was not so inimically disposed towards Mahmud. But this did not save him from the fury of the Ghaznavids, who were now bent on the complete destruction of his dynasty.[1]

I divide this encounter into three parts that are dealt with below. The fourth part discusses the results.

1. H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, I, p. 95.

A. Help from Nature : Mahmud Goes Back because of Heavy Snow-Fall and Severe Cold

The Sultan of Ghazni started from his capital about the end of autumn 404[1] (November 1013). As soon as he reached the border of Hind, his passage was blocked by a heavy fall of snow. The roads, passes, and valleys were all lost under the snow drifts. Hence he was forced to return.

Trilochanapala, it seems, had either foreseen this attack or had received timely information of this invasion. So he took an immediate step. He had several grounds to seek help from the Kashmir king Sangramaraja : neighbourly feeling, anti-Turkish feeling, common interest of both the parties, old relationship with the royal family, relationship with Prime Minister Tunga's family, and a feeling of special attachment because of Sanskrit culture and study of Ugrabhuti's grammar in Kashmir. This help was agreed to in all seriousness. The prime minister and the most influential person of Kashmir at that time (October-November 1013) was Tunga. "In the month of Margasirsha (मार्गशीर्ष)[2] the king despatched him to the country of the illustrious Sahi Trilochanapala, who had asked for help. A large army, attended by many Rajaputras, chief councillors, feudal chiefs, and others [of rank], capable of making the earth shake, followed him" (*Raj.*, VII. 47-48). Kalhana does not mention the gap between Sangramaraja's sending of the auxiliary force and the actual battle which came some months later. He proceeds to describe the battle fought between Tunga and Trilochanapala on one side and the Turushka Hammira on the other. This is not supported by the Muslim historians. Hence, if Kalhana is considered accurate which he really was, we may

1. For a description and date see Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 37. The Sultan probably marched by way of Kabul (Nazim, p. 91 on the authority of Baihaqi, p. 841).
2. Kalhana does not mention the year. From Muslim sources we learn that this expedition of Mahmud relates to A.D. 1013-14. Hence this Margasirsha (which month in A.D. 1013 lasted from 22 October to 20 November) means November of A.D. 1013.

presume the probable loss of two *slokas*[1] from his work with the following content :

"Having learnt that the invading Turushkas had to go back because of heavy snow-fall and severe cold, the army came back and thought that the clouds of locusts had passed. [VII. 48A]

"But these clouds of locusts presented themselves again after a few months when the Turushkas came back in the spring season.[2] The Kashmirian army under Tunga started again for the country of the Sahis after receiving information about invasion by these locusts of fierce Chandalas." [VII. 48B]

B. Fighting with Own Resources : Battle for Nandana : Resistance of Nidar Bhima and the Local Governor (Saindhava Raja)

The Sultan, who had employed the intervening time in collecting supplies and generals from the different provinces and had thus accumulated the necessary means of warfare, left his winter quarters in the following spring (March 1014) and marched to Nandana. After two months' troublesome journey across broad and deep rivers and over the hills and dales, he reached the vicinity of the capital of Hind.[3]

The fort of Ninduna (Nandana) was situated on the mountain of Balnat[4] or Balanatha. The action which preceded its capture appears to have been fought at the Margala Pass which answers well to the description given of it by Utbi.

a. Battle at the Pass

Having arrived near the fort, Sultan Mahmud divided his cavalry into three groups placing Amir Nasr, Arslanul Jazib and Abu Abdulla Muhammad in charge of the right wing, the left wing

1. I place them between *slokas* 48 and 49 of Book VII and call them 48A and 48B.
2. Who knows Kalhana might have supplied the year in this lost *sloka* (48B) ?
3. This paragraph is a summary of Utbi's account (Elliot, II, p. 37).
4. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 31.

and the advance-guard respectively. The central part of the army was placed under the leadership of Altuntash.

Trilochanapala, who was not prepared for this sudden invasion, put the whole of his army under the command of his son[1] Bhimapala the Fearless and making him the chief of Hind during his absence he set out for the Kashmir Pass[2] to implore the assistance of Sangramaraja of Kashmir. Bhimapala sent invitations to his vassals to join him with their forces.

Bhimapala entrenched himself in a strong position between two hills at the junction of which the fort was situated, and closed the entrance to the pass by a strong line of elephants. The Sultan advanced to the assault and, after several days of futile fighting, was at last able to draw out some of the Hindus into the plain for an encounter.

b. Battle on the Plain

Bhimapala in the meantime received fresh reinforcements and leaving his entrenched position, he came out into the plain, with his rear resting on the hills and his wings protected by elephants, and attacked the Sultan. The battle raged furiously. A charge of elephants was ordered. When the elephants of the Hindus moved on, with the object of destroying their opponents, they were assailed by showers of arrows upon their trunks and eyes. Abu Abdulla Muhammad, while fighting bravely in the midst of the enemies, received many wounds in his head and body, but was rescued by the Sultan's personal guard.[3] An all-out battle continued for some time. The Hindus broke and fled for refuge to the fort of Nandana. Bhimapala threw a garrison into the fort on the hill of Balanatha

1. He is called Nidar .Bhima (*i. e.*, Bhima the Fearless) in this context by Utbi. His complete name Bhimapala with relationship to Trilochanapala is supplied by Alberuni (tr. Sachau' II, p.13) and by Utbi also (elsewhere in his account of Mahmud's first Doab invasion).
2. Gardizi, p. 72 (quoted in Nazim, p. 91).
3. Details of the battle at the pass and on the plain stop here in Utbi. What follows (killings, spoils) is the outcome of the battle that had been fought for the fort.

and fled to the Pass of Kashmir, obviously to join his father, in seeking help from the Kashmir king. The Sahi side stood thoroughly demoralised.

c. Battle at the Fort

The scene now shifted to the central capital, the Nandana fort, which was practically leaderless. Both father and son were in Kashmir seeking help from its king while the defence of the capital had been entrusted to a strong garrison consisting of veteran troops. Muslim sources do not mention the name of the leader of this garrison. We wish to hazard the suggestion that this resistance force was led by the unnamed local governor, the Saindhava *raja*, whose descendant/eldest grandson[1] Prajji later rose to be the Dvaradhikarin (द्वाराधिकारिन्) of the Kashmir State during A. D. 1121-1123. According to our calculation, both Bhimapala and the unnamed Saindhava *raja* (whose descendant Prajji has been called a *rajabijin*, राजबीजिन्, in *Raj.*, VIII. 1042) were of the same age, having been born in *c.* A. D. 990.

Sultan Mahmud readily marched to the capital and besieged its fort. Having failed to capture it by ordinary means, he ran mines under the walls and the Turkoman sharp-shooters poured a terrific shower of arrows on the defenders. A great carnage followed. Realising that it would be impossible to hold out long, the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Sultan having granted to the besieged their lives took everything of value out of the place. He captured immense booty including a large number of elephants and a big store of arms and other valuables.[2] The victors found an inscribed stone there in the temple of a great idol (Arabicised *budd*, Persian *but*, meaning an idol, not connected with Buddha) which proved to be of no use to them. The Sultan, "appointing a new governor, moved without delay towards Kashmir."[3]

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1. *Vide ante* for the argument.
2. Gardizi, p. 72 (quoted in Nazim, p. 92). The great carnage involved in the conflict and the spoils obtained after the Sultan's victory of Nardin are mentioned by Utbi also (Elliot, II, p. 39).
3. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 32.

C. Fighting with Others' Help : Battle on the Taushi : Resistance of Trilochanapala and Tunga

The scene of action shifts to the border area between the Punjab and Kashmir on the Taushi river (*Raj.*, VII. 53).

The term Taushi is probably, as suggested by Buhler, connected with Skr. *tushara* (तुषार), 'snow', and means thus etymologically 'a river coming from the snows'. It is only a generic appellation for any perennial mountain stream and is now borne by several mountain streams joining the Jhelum and the Chenab from the south slopes of the Pir Pantsal Range. Our Taushi can scarcely be any other river but the Tohi, which flows through Parnotsa (Prunts), and joins the Vitasta (Jhelum) above the town of Jhelum or Jehlam. Through the valley of the Prunts Tohi leads the most convenient route towards Lohara (Loharin). From these again a route much used in old times, leading over the Tosamaidan Pass, opens access to Kashmir.[1]

It is to be regretted that Kalhana, who is the only source for the battle on the Taushi (VII. 47-70) between Trilochanapala Sahi and Tunga on one side and the Hammira (Amir) on the other, has omitted to indicate the year of the event. A critical examination of the Muhammadan sources and the *Rajatarangini* may, however, yet lead to a definite settlement of the question. Judging from the materials accessible to us most facts seem to point to Mahmud's expedition of the year 1013-1014.

From Nandana Mahmud marched towards the Kashmir valley where Trilochanapala had rallied his surviving forces. They were joined by an auxiliary force sent by the Kashmir ruler under the leadership of his prime minister Tunga for helping the Sahi king. Kalhana gives us a vivid description of the overbearing assurance with which Tunga led the large Kashmirian force sent to the Sahi support. Neglecting the cautious advice and warning of Trilochanapala, who had grown experienced in the warfare with the Turushkas, he refused to occupy the safe defensive position assigned to him.

1. This paragraph is based on Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, notes on VII. 47-69, 53 and VIII. 2006.

Crossing the Taushi river, Tunga attacked and defeated a detachment of the enemy sent on a reconnaissance. Elated by this easy success, Tunga found himself next morning attacked by the full force of Hammira. The Kashmirian troops left the field in utter confusion. Tunga and his son fled for their lives. Trilochanapala rallied his forces and made a final attempt to retrieve his fortune, but he was defeated after some resistance. Kalhana has preserved the names of three valiant sons of Kashmir who fought on the terrible field of battle even after the Sahi army had gone and thus preserved the honour of their country from being lost. They were Jayasimha, Srivardhana and Vibhramarka, the Damara, of Sangrama's family[1] (VII. 58). Trilochanapala himself, who is warmly praised by Kalhana for his great personal bravery, fought his way through the mass of his opponents. When he had left, the Turushkas overspread the country like clouds of locusts (VII. 63, 70).

D. Post-Defeat Phase : Net Results of the Turkish War (Turushka-samara)

The news of Mahmud's victory spread far and wide. Numerous *rajas* of the neighbourhood tendered their fealty to the conqueror and many of the inhabitants of these territories embraced Islam. The Sultan appointed teachers to instruct the converts in the rudiments of their new faith and ordered mosques to be built all over the country. He then placed the fort of Nandana in charge of Sarugh and returned to Ghazni in summer 405 (July-August 1014).[2] Mahmud's obtaining much booty in the shape of gold and prisoners of war and Islamisation[3] are referred to by Nizamuddin

1. According to our calculation Vibhramarka (VII. 58) was the grandson of Sangrama the Damara chief (V. 306, 424; VI. 171) whose sons are referred to in VI. 280.
2. Muhammad Nazim, p. 93 (on the basis of Gardizi).
3. "Even in the Panjab he (=Mahmud) converted forcibly many people especially in the western part contiguous to the river Indus" (C. V. Vaidya, III, p. 107). *Gazetteer of the Jhelam District 1883-4* (Calcutta, n. d.), p. 44 says : "Mahmud of Ghazni commenced a very thorough Islamization

and Firishta as well. On this occasion he carried with him such a large number of Indians as prisoners that they were sold as slaves at a very cheap price in Ghazni. Men of respectability in their native land were degraded by becoming slaves of common shopkeepers.[1]

The area up to the Jhelum was annexed to the Ghaznavid empire. Trilochanapala had thus fallen from his position as has rightly been stated by Kalhana (VII. 65). The Muslim annexation of the main (non-Multani) Punjab started.

Kalhana is evidently right in representing the battle on the Taushi as having finally decided the fate of the Sahi dynasty. The Muhammadan historians, in full agreement with the Chronicle, make mention of the subsequent occasions on which Trilochanapala bravely endeavoured to retrieve his lost fortune. They also show that these battles were no longer fought in the Punjab, the seat of the power of the later Sahi kings [2]

of the district." *Punjab District Gazetteers Volume XXVIIA : Jhelum District, with Maps, 1904* (Lahore, 1907), p. 63 states : "It is probable that Islam in the Salt Range dates from this time." But contrast Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, *Panjab under the Sultans (1000-1526 A. D.)* (Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Delhi and Jullundur City, 1968), p. 21 : "The notion that Mahmud contributed greatly to the spread of Islam in Panjab seems to be fantastic and utterly false."

1. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 39.
2. This paragraph has been taken from Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VII. 47-69.

PERIOD II

MID-1014 TO SEPTEMBER 1018

HECTIC ACTIVITY DEPENDING ON HASTIKA AND DISPLAY OF GREAT ENERGY

The Nandana-Taushi war broke the power of Trilochanapala who had now to adopt new policies. Help from Kashmir had proved to be ineffective. He had even lost his stae capital, Nandana. So he looked towards the east. The period between the Nandana-Taushi War (1014) and Mahmud's first Doab invasion (1018-19) is thus characterised by efforts at restoration of old power and prestige, invasion of neighbouring territories, alliances with small powers, annexation of smaller regions and consolidation of the capital area for using it as a base of operations (संभवतः) in times of necessity.

Conquest of Siwalik Hills and Their Catchment Area *c.* A. D. 1014-15

Muhammad Nazim[1] is of the view that after his defeat in the battle fought "in one of the valleys to the north of Jhelum", Trilochanapala "retired to the eastern part of the Punjab where he seems to have established himself in the Siwalik hills." He has drawn this inference from Trilochanapala's "warfare with the neighbouring *rajas*, particularly Chandar Ray of Sharwa", and "from Utbi's account of the battle on the river Ruhut"[2] or Rahib (Rama-Ganga). Nazim[3] thinks that Sharwa was the name of the modern town Sarawa, 13 miles due south of Meerut. The Raja of Sharwa was evidently a neighbour of Trilochanapala, son of Anandapala, who held sway in the Siwalik hills. This is suppor-

1. P. 93.
2. *Ibid.*, fn. 6 (to be read with the text).
3. P. 109, fn. 6.

ted by the statement of Gardizi, p. 76, that the treasure of Chandar Ray fell into the hands of the Sultan during his return march from Kanauj. According to Utbi we find Trilochanapala holding dominion as far eastward as the Rahib. Thus we may reasonably suppose that Trilochanapala had then established himself far to the eastward of the Punjab.

Establishment of the New Capital at Hastika : the New Base of Operations c. A. D. 1014-15

We do not know where Trilochanapala's capital lay after his loss of Nandana. But there may not be any valid objection to our belief that he *had* a capital at some place or other in his kingdom and that it was his own creation.

But where was that capital of Trilochanapala situated ?

Before answering that question we may put forth some guidelines and known data in this connection.

The Sahi king might have had the following guidelines for making his choice of the capital :

1. It should be towards the east which was the natural direction for his advance.

2. It should preferably be on the bank of some important river that might provide transport and other facilities.

3. If possible, it might be a well-known historical site. [Udabhandapura and Nandana, previous capitals, had been well-known historical sites.]

4. The situation should be favourable for maintaining an elephant force.

The known data about the location of the Sahi capital are as follows :

1. It was away from the Muslim occupied Punjab, somewhere in the Great Divide (between the Sutlej and the Yamuna) or the Doab (Ganga-Yamuna Doab).

2. It was near the Siwalik hills area that had been conquered by Trilochanapala.

3. It was near Sharwa (modern Sarawa, 13 miles due south of Meerut) whose *raja* was a neighbour of Trilochanapala.

4. It was near a fort named Sarbal according to Farrukhi (f. 16a)[1]. Nazim identifies this with Sabalgarh, 15 miles south of Hardwar, on the left bank of the Ganges.[2]

5. It was to the west of the Rama-Ganga river on whose bank Trilochanapala fought his last battle with Mahmud.

In my opinion the answer to the query about the location of Trilochanapala's second capital is available in the *Rajatarangini* itself, but it has so far escaped the notice of scholars. Read the first line of VII. 65 carefully :

Trilochano'pi samsritya hastikam svapadachchyutah

(त्रिलोचनोऽपि संश्रित्य हास्तिकं स्वपदाच्च्युतः ।)

I would humbly suggest that *samsritya hastikam* (संश्रित्य हास्तिकं), the crucial expression, does not mean "relying on his force of elephants", though this meaning is not precluded as Kalhana was a poet appreciating several meanings of one passage; but it really means "obtaining or acquiring or depending on Hastika (=Hastina =Hastinapura)". Hastika seems to be the local name of Hastinapura current in Kalhana's own time (the middle of the twelfth century). Or, it was a convenient contraction of Hastinapura for use in poetry, because Kalhana uses contractions like Krishna (कृष्णा)[3] for Krishna-Ganga (कृष्णगंगा), Salha (सल्ह)[4] for Salhana (सल्हण), and Kotta (कोट्ट)[5] for Loharakotta (लोहरकोट्ट). Anyway, the word Hastika has to be taken in a geographical sense, because the context also supports it. Being *svapadat chyutah* (स्वपदात् च्युतः) Trilochana was in need of a new *pada* (पद) (place, position, station, abode), which the poet supplies and on which the king had now to depend. The use of the word *samsritya* (संश्रित्य) by the poet elsewhere (VII. 722) in his book (संश्रित्य विजयक्षेत्रं, 'residing at Vijayakshetra') rather decides the issue because here the object is a geographical term. संश्रित्य is

1. Muhammad Nazim, p. 94, fn. 7.
2. *Ibid.*
3. VII. 586, VIII. 3401.
4. VIII. 451, 472, 3444 (3447 in Vishva Bandhu's edn.).
5. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 297, fn. 33.

सं +√श्रि+क्त्वा substituted into ल्यप्. I have been able to find out the use of the verb श्रि (*śri*) in the past tense at four places :

VII. 560 : यं यं देशं अशिश्रयन् ।
VII. 762 : पक्षं अशिश्रयन् ॥
VII. 770 : तत्पक्षं.....अशिश्रयत् ॥
VIII. 1048 : अशिश्रियन् रिपून् ।

Here also the terms used as objects are either geographical or involving persons. Thus the probability stands more in favour of the geographical sense than the sense of herd of elephants. The latter sense is here redundant too, because Trilochanapala, who like his predecessors depended on elephant force, had already been defeated and hence there was no point in repeating that in future he tried to recover his power with the help of his elephant force; after all, a king *has* to depend on his force. There is another reason as to why we should expect here the name of Trilochanapala's capital. Kalhana has taken special care to mention the capital (Udabhandapura) of the Sahi kings from Lalliya down to Bhima (V. 153, 232; VII. 1081). The chronicler does not mention Jayapala and his son Anandapala. Thus when the latter's son Trilochanapala is mentioned so sympathetically, it is expected that his capital would also be referred to. For this reason we should expect here the name of a place which he used as his new capital and base of operations after this defeat on the Taushi river.

It is possible that the correct text has not come down to us, because examples of this are not rare.[1] If so, we may be permitted to emend the text as Hastinam (हास्तिनं). क (*KA*) and न (*NA*) closely resemble each other in the medieval scripts. Any blot at the centre or top of the vertical straight line of न (*NA*) where the left-hand side portion meets it makes it look like क (*KA*).[2] Hence we may be pretty sure that what was originally *Hastinam* (हास्तिनं) in VII. 65 later corrupted into *hastikam* (हास्तिकं) because of the copyist's error, changing the meaning of the passage beyond recognition.

1. Saudotra (शौडोत्र) which carries no meaning is given in VI. 300; obviously, it should be Gaudodra (गौडोद्र), *i. e.*, Gauda (Bengal) and Udra (Orissa).
2. For another suitable example see Stein's note on VIII. 514 (*Raj.*).

Confirmation of this theory of ours comes from a rather unexpected side. The archaeological excavation report on Hastinapura[1] shows that Hastinapura, abandoned for more than seven centuries (from the beginning of fourth century A. D. to early eleventh century A. D.), remained occupied for about four centuries from "late eleventh to early fifteenth century A. D." The author of the article has dated the various periods at Hastinapura as follows[2] :

Period I : pre-1200 B.C.

Period II : *circa* 1100 to *circa* 800 B. C.

Period III : early sixth to early third century B.C.

Period IV : early second century B. C. to the end of third century A. D.

Period V : late eleventh to early fifteenth century A. D.

Recapitulating the evidence regarding the date of Period V which is our immediate concern here, the author says[3] : "The total thickness of the Period varied from 7 to 9 ft. and there were four clear-cut structural Sub-periods. From a layer falling between Sub-periods 2 and 3 was obtained a coin (HST 1-239) of Sultan Ghiyasud Din Balban (A. D. 1266-87), and accordingly the layer concerned may be assigned broadly to the close of the thirteenth century A. D. That this layer could not have been much later than that is suggested by the fact that the lower levels of the Period yielded pottery-types (e. g. *handi* with partially-indented rim, double-spouted vases, knife-edged bowls, incense-burners, etc.) which occurred at Ahichchhatra between A. D. 850-1100. To strike a compromise, the beginning of Period V may be placed late in the eleventh century. The Glazed Ware (above, pp. 19-20) recovered from the upper levels of the Period is similar to that found at

1. B. B. Lal, 'Excavation at Hastinapura and other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins 1950-52 : New Light on the Dark Age between the End of the Harappa Culture and the Early Historical Period', *Ancient India* (*Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*), Numbers 10 & 11, 1954 & 1955, Combined Issue, pp. 5-151.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 21. We have left the quoted part unabridged.

Adilabad, where it is firmly dated to the first half of the fourteenth century (H. Waddington in *Ancient India*, no. 1, 1946, pp. 72 ff.). Mention may perhaps be made here of a coin (HST 1-1072) of Sultan Mahmud Shah II (A. D. 1392-1412), though it was picked up on the surface". Add to this the following[1] : "From one of the lower levels of Period V comes an interesting plaque with standing figures of a man and a woman (pl. XLI, 23). A large number of such specimens have been recovered from stratum I of Ahichchhatra excavations, ascribable to *circa* A. D. 800-1100." On the basis of the comparison made between Ahichchhatra and Hastinapura, I venture to suggest that the beginning of Period V may be slightly shifted and placed early (*not* late) in the eleventh century. This solves the puzzle of the second capital of Trilochanapala who selected this abandoned religious site[2] on the Ganges for the purpose. The archaeological sites of Northern India that were re-occupied after centuries during the eleventh-twelfth centuries should be viewed as connected in some way or other with the Turkish invasions from the north-west. The following quotation from B. B. Lal's report[3] about the remains of the Indian elephant at Hastinapura further strengthens our argument in favour of this place: "....there cannot be any doubt that the inhabitants were well acquainted with the elephant. The find of a part of the skeleton, besides a few pieces of ivory, shows that the animal actually lived in this region."

The first inspiration to treat *Hastikam* of *Raj.*, VII. 65 in a geographical sense came to us from the following passage of Cunningham (A.D. 1814-1893) : "As the Muhammadans advanced, the Indians retired.....Being driven out.....they retired to the northern mountains. Trilochan Pal.....was defeated by Mahmud on the banks of the Taushi or Tohi River (*Raja Tarangini*, VII, 55).

1. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
2. Hastinapura (हास्तिनपुर) or Hastinapura (हस्तिनापुर) situated on the Ganges was an important *tirtha*. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. IV, Poona, 1963, p. 756 (ch. 16 : 'List of *Tirthas*') ; Hindi tr., Lucknow, 1966, p. 1504.
3. B.B. Lal, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

.....Trilochan retired after his defeat to Hastikam (हस्तिकाम्) (*Raja Tarangini*, VII, 65). He continued to retreat to India and was again defeated by Mahmud on the banks of the Rahib."[1] Cunningham did not identify Hastikam (हस्तिकाम्).[2] The entire theory about Hastika (हास्तिक)=Hastina (हास्तिन)=Hastinapura (हास्तिनपुर) or Hastinapura (हस्तिनापुर) has been built up by ourselves.

Conflict with Chand Ray of Sharwa A.D. 1018

Trilochanapala did not rest in peace. Constant fights went on between him and the neighbouring *rajas*, particularly Chand Ray (*or* Chandar Ray), "one of the greatest men in Hind", who resided in the fort of Sharwa. Because of these fights many men and warriors had fallen in the field. At last these two consented to peace, in order to save further bloodshed and invasion of their respective borders. Trilochanapala sought his old enemy's daughter for his son Bhimapala. When Bhimapala went to Sharwa to fetch the bride, he was detained there by Chand Ray. Trilochanapala was thus compelled to refrain from proceeding against Chand Ray's fort and country, because he was unable to release his son. But constant skirmishes occurred between them, until the arrival of Sultan Mahmud in these parts.[3]

1. *CMI*, p. 61.
2. Cunningham (d. 1893), it appears, found this reading in the text current in his own time that had been consulted by him. Stein (1894) and Vishva Bandhu (1963) read it as Hastikam (हास्तिकम्). This at least shows that the word had more than one reading.
3. This paragraph is based on Utbi (Elliot, II, pp. 47-48).

PERIOD III

OCTOBER 1018 TO MID-1021

GRIM RESISTANCE AGAINST FEROCIOUS FOREIGN FOE AND EFFORT AT RECOVERY OF VICTORY

The later career of Trilochanapala Sahi is closely bound up with the two Doab invasions of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. Hence we propose to deal with it in three respective sections below, giving one section to the period intervening between the invasions.

SECTION A

OCTOBER 1018 TO MARCH 1019

AVOIDING A DIRECT CONFRONTATION WITH MAHMUD DURING SULTAN'S FIRST DOAB INVASION

The aims of Sultan Mahmud's first Doab invasion (1018-19) were the destruction of forts, temples and the glory and glamour of Kanauj, and the acquisition of wealth.

He set out from Ghazni on 27 September 1018 A.D. Marching along the sub-Himalayan range, and accepting the submission of a hilly chief Sabli, son of Shahi, son of Bamhi, he crossed the river Yamuna on 2 December 1018 A.D. The progress of the Sultan through the Doab was a round of sieges, assaults and victories following each other in quick succession.[1] He covered the following in this campaign : Sirsawa, Baran (Bulandshahr), Mahaban, Mathura, Kanauj, Munj, Asi (or Asai), and Sharwa.

Mahmud's Invasion and Defeat of Rajyapala Pratihara of Kanauj 20 December 1018 A.D.

Sultan Mahmud after capturing several places enumerated above arrived at Kanauj (Farrukhabad District) on the Ganges on 20 December 1018 A.D. This was the seat of the government of the Pratihara king Rajyapala. On hearing of the Sultan's approach,

1. Muhammad Nazim, p. 106.

Rajyapala crossed the Ganges and fled to Bari.[1] The Sultan took all the seven forts of Kanauj in a single day. The town was given up to plunder and thousands of Hindus were taken prisoners or put to the sword.

The main object of the expedition, *viz.*, the conquest of Kanauj, having been accomplished, the Sultan started on his return march.

Treaty with Chandal Bhor

When Sultan Mahmud had arrived in the Doab in December 1018 A.D., Trilochanapala was having constant skirmishes with king Chand Ray of Sharwa whose daughter had been married to his son Bhimapala. Trilochanapala, as a defensive step, entered into a friendly engagement with Chandal (Chandpal, Chandarpal) Bhor, who was proud in the strength of his forts and their difficulty of access, and there he considered himself secure against pursuit in his inaccessible retreat.[2]

Bhimapala's Suggestion to Chand Ray of Sharwa for Secret Flight with Treasure

When Mahmud was approaching the fort of Sharwa, the *raja* of this place, Chand Ray, made preparations for resistance, but on the approach of the Sultan he fled secretly to the hills with his property, elephants, and treasure on the advice of his son-in-law Bhimapala (son of Trilochanapala Sahi). The object of Bhimapala in recommending the flight of Chand Ray was that the Ray should not fall into the net of the Sultan, and thus be

1. Bari was situated 10 *farsakh* or about 40 miles to the east of Kanauj (Alberuni, I, 200-201), but its exact situation is not known. I venture to suggest that Bari was only a camp of the skandha*vari* Pratihara king ; and hence after its sack by Mahmud later, nothing of it remained. Bari was the capital of Rajyapala and his son Trilochanapala Pratihara (the *skandhavari*, 'owner of the camp') as Hastika (Hastina) was the capital of Trilochanapala Sahi (the *hastika*, 'elephant rider').
2. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 48.

made a Musalman, as had happened to Bhimapala's uncle[1] and relations, when they demanded quarter in their distress.[2]

Mahmud's Invasion and Defeat of Chand Ray of Sharwa 6 January 1019 A. D.

The Sultan invested and captured the fort of Sharwa and got plenty of supplies and booty. He followed Raja Chand Ray in pursuit and overtook him at a distance of about 50 miles shortly before midnight on 6 January 1019 A. D. The Raja disposed his army in battle array and defended himself bravely but was defeated. His camp was plundered and rich spoils, including a large number of elephants, were captured.

Mahmud now resumed his march to Ghazni.

It may easily be pointed out that the Sultan must have acted with wonderful rapidity. He entered the Doab on 2 December 1018 and crossed the Yamuna on his way back, probably a few days after 6 January 1019. The total time that he spent in achieving these numerous victories was therefore not more than about 40 days.[3] This was possible because the two key-notes of the Turkish military organisation in this *age of the horse* were mobility (a well-equipped cavalry) and archery (use of the bow from the saddle and while moving).[4]

1. Nawasa Shah of whom we have said already.
2. Utbi in Elliot, II, pp. 48-49. Utbi has preserved (p. 48) the letter that Bhimapala wrote to his father-in-law.
3. Nazim, p. 110, fn. 2.
4. Mohammad Habib and Khaliq Ahmad Nizami (eds.), *The Delhi Sultanat (A. D. 1206-1526)*, being Vol. V of *A Comprehensive History of India*, People's Publishing House, Delhi, August 1970, p. 186 (by K.A. Nizami). The framing of the sentence is mine, though not *italics*. Also see R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare, A Contribution to Medieval Military History*, pp. 80-81 and Jadunath Sarkar, *Military History of India*, p. 26.

SECTION B

APRIL 1019 TO SEPTEMBER 1020

PREPARATIONS FOR FINAL CLASH WITH MAHMUD DURING INTER-INVASION PERIOD

The departure of Mahmud from India for Ghazni in January-February 1019 gave a respite for some months to the Indians who, unlike other occasions, tried to utilise it for themselves. The leadership was provided by the Rajput dynasty of the Chandellas who assured help to Trilochanapala during his forthcoming final encounter with the Turkish Amir. The Sahi king was evidently preparing himself for a death-defying struggle against his inveterate foe.

Emergence of Vidyadhara Chandella as the Predominant Ruler of Hindustan

The second decade of the eleventh century saw the emergence of Vidyadhara Chandella (A. D. 1010-1025)[1] as the predominant ruler of Northern India. A short epigraph on a *mandapa-pilaster* of the Kandariya temple of Khajuraho (Chatarpur District, Madhya Pradesh) mentions a king called Virimda (विरिंद), which according to Krishna Deva may have been a pet name of Vidyadhara.[2] He assumed full imperial titles like *Paramabhattaraka Maharajadhiraja Parameśvara* (परममट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर) as indicated in Nanyaura (Hamirpur District) Plate B of V. S. 1107 (A. D. 1050) of Devavarman Chandella[3] (A. D. 1050-1070). It has rightly been claimed in a fragmentary Mahoba (Hamirpur District) stone inscription (now in the Lucknow Museum) of Kirtivarman Chandella (A. D. 1070-1098) that king Vidyadhara gathered the flowers

1. This date for the reign of Vidyadhara Chandella has been suggested by us for which see *supra*, pp. 169-170.
2. Krishna Deva, 'The Temples of Khajuraho', *Ancient India*, No. 15, 1959, p. 45. Also see Kanwar Lal, *Immortal Khajuraho*, Delhi, 1965, p. 26. The text is राजं विरिंदसमये नवसुरसमागमे वरस्त्रीणाम्.
3. *Indian Antiquary*, 16, p. 205, l. 1.

of the fame of his enemies.[1] The Deogadh (Lalitpur District) rock inscription of V. S. 1154 (A. D. 1097) of the same ruler also showers praises on Vidyadhara.[2] The Mau stone inscription (now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta) of the reign of Madanavarman Chandella (A. D. 1129-1163) equalled Vidyadhara to Indra, the lord of gods (Vasava), whose lotus feet took rest on diadems of all kings without exception.[3] Verses 23-24 of the same inscription state that Prime Minister (*Sachiva*) Sivanaga was responsible to a great extent for making other rulers tributary to him.[4]

Indian epigraphic references to Vidyadhara are in complete agreement with his account as recorded by the Muslim chroniclers.

1. *EI*, 1, pp. 219 (tr.), 221 (text-line 12), verse 21 (32 syllables of this verse are lost) :

   तस्मादसौ रिपुयशःकुसुमाहरोभूद् विद्याधरो नृपतिरप्र[ति].....।

   .....॥[21]

   My colleague and friend Dr. Kashi Nath Mishra of Patna College wants to restore the last four letters of the first half of the verse as [मप्रताप:†].
2. *Indian Antiquary*, 18, p. 237.
3. *EI*, 1, pp. 197 (text-line 3) , 203 (Eng. tr.), verse 5 :

   तस्मादशेषनरपतिमौलिषु विश्रान्तकान्तपदकमलः।

   श्रीविद्याधरदेवः ..... [वा]सवो जज्ञे ॥ [5]

   My colleague and friend Dr. Kashi Nath Mishra suggests [पृथिवीतल†] for the damaged portion.
4. *EI*, 1, pp. 199 (text-lines 13-14), 204 (Eng. tr.), verses 23-24 :

   वु(बु)द्ध्या श्रुतेन व(ब)हुना विषयायमानश्—
   चन्द्रातपोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लयशोभृतदिग्वितानः ।
   जातौ विपक्षनिवहैरवि[14]षह्यधामा
   तस्मादजायत कृती शिवनागनामा ॥ [23]
   अभिष्टोतुं शक्यं कथमिव गुणास्तस्य सुमते—
   र्य एकः सद्वृत्तः सचिवपद[मास्थाय] न चिरं ।
   क्रमाद्राज्यं विद्याधरनरपतेर्न्नित्यकरदी—
   कृताशेषोर्व्वीशं व्यधितभुवि सर्व्वातिशयितं ॥ [24]

Ibn al-Asir describes Vidyadhara as one "who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory and had the largest armies."[1] The strength of his army[2] is variously indicated by the Muslim authors :

	Gardizi (*KZA*, p. 76)	Ibn al-Asir (*TKA*, p.216)	Nizamuddin (*TA*, p. 12)	Firishta (*TF*, I, p. 38)
Infantry	1,45,000	1,84,000	1,45,000	45,000[3]
Cavalry	36,000	56,000	36,000	36,000
Elephants	640	746	390	640

Vidyadhara's claim to greatness did not rest on conquests or invasions, but on the gallant part he played against Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni which we take up now.

An Anti-Pratihara Combination under Vidyadhara Chandella's Leadership Leads to Kanyakubja King's Killing (कन्याकुब्जभूपालभङ्गम्) in a Pitched Battle (महत्याहवे)

Ibn al-Asir (died A. D. 1234) in his Arabic history *Al-Tarikh ul-Kamil* throws welcome light on an obscure aspect of Indian history[4] and removes certain misconceptions[5] : "...when he (=Yamin ud-Daulah) had conquered Kanauj and its ruler called the Ray had fled away...and Mahmud returned to Ghazna, Bida the accursed, who was the greatest of the rulers of India in territory

1. Relevant portion translated in *DHNI*, I, p. 604.
2. Furnished in prose form by H. C. Ray in his *DHNI*, II , p. 690, fn. 2 and S. K. Mitra in his *The Early Rulers of Khajuraho*, p. 76. We have put the figures in a tabular form.
3. As Firishta generally closely follows Nizamuddin, 45,000 may be a mistake for 1,45,000 (*DHNI*, II, p. 690, fn. 2).
4. Relevant portion translated in *DHNI*, I, pp. 604-05.
5. Nizamuddin and Firishta incorrectly say that Rajyapala had submitted to Sultan Mahmud, and they have been followed by V. A. Smith (*JRAS*, 1909, Part I, pp. 278-79), Sir W. Haig (*CHI*, III, p. 21), and other modern historians, except Nazim (p. 110, fn. 5) and Ray (*DHNI*, I, pp. 606-07).

and had the largest armies, and whose territory was named Kajuraha, sent messengers to the Ray of Kanauj, who was named Rajaypal, rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his territories to the Musalmans. A long quarrel ensued between them, which resulted in hostilities, and as each of them prepared to fight the other, they marched out and met and fought, and Rajaypal was killed, and most of his soldiers also perished; and this success added to the mischief and refractoriness of Bida, and his fame spread throughout India." Gardizi (p. 76) also mentions this aspect of "Nanda who had killed Rajbal, the Amir of Kanauj, and had admonished him for running away from the armies of Mahmud."[1]

The truth of these statements is astonishingly demonstrated by two Sanskrit inscriptions, *viz.*, a fragmentary Mahoba (Hamirpur District) stone inscription of Kirtivarman Chandella (A. D. 1070-1098) and the Dubkund stone inscription of the Kachchhapaghata Vikramasimha of V. S. 1145 (A. D. 1088) in which these persons speak of their grandfather Vidyadhara and great-grandfather Arjuna respectively. The Chandella inscription from Mahoba tells us that Vidyadhara who was a master of warfare "had caused the destruction of the king of Kanyakubja."[2] The Dubkund[3] inscription of *Maharajadhiraja* Vikramasimha tells us that his great-grandfather Arjuna, being "anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyadharadeva, had fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rajyapala with many

1. Quoted in *DHNI*, I, p. 604, fn. 4.
2. *EI*, 1, pp. 219 (Eng. tr.), 222 (text-lines 12 which is damaged and 13), verse 22 (18 syllables of this verse are lost) :

   ...[13]विहितकन्याकुब्जभूपालभङ्गम् ।
   समरगुरुमुपास्त प्रौढमौस्तल्यभाजं
   सहकलचुरिचंद्रः शिष्यवद् भोजदेवः ॥[22]

   My colleague and friend Dr. Kashi Nath Mishra suggests सपदि as the last letters of line 12 of the inscription.
3. The place is in a dense forest on the left bank of the Kunu river, 76 miles to the south-west of Gwalior in Madhya Pradesh.

showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bones."[1] These two inscriptions when jointly read leave us in no doubt that Arjuna of the Kachchhapaghata family, a devoted ally of Vidyadhara and in close alliance with him, was only carrying out the directions of his suzerain who had now assumed leadership of the anti-Pratihara combination.[2]

My readers must be feeling perplexed as to why I am dragging them unnecessarily into details of Chandella history. The following two sub-sections explain this.

Trilochanapala's Participation in Anti-Pratihara Anti-Hammira Combination

Did Trilochanapala Sahi play any role at all in the anti-Pratihara anti-Hammira combination organised under Vidyadhara Chandella's leadership ?

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1. *EI*, 2, pp. 233 (Eng. tr.), 237 (text-lines 12-13), verse 8 :

   श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्—
   कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकबाणनिवहैर्हत्वा महत्याहवे ।
   [13][डिंडोरा]बलिचंद्रमंडल[मि]लन्मुक्ताकलापोज्व(ज्ज्व)लैम् —
   त्रैलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योजस्रमापूरयत् ॥[8]

   The previous (ll. 10-12) and the following (ll. 13-15) verses also are in praise of Arjuna speaking of his skill in archery (धनुर्विद्या) and elephant force (गजघटा) respectively. But as they are not connected with Vidyadharadeva, we have not furnished their text here.

2. There had been long-standing antagonism between the Pratiharas of Kanauj and the Chandellas of Khajuraho and Kalanjara. According to the Mau stone inscription of the reign of Madanavarman (*EI*, 1, p. 197, text-lines 2-3, p. 203, Eng. tr., verse 3) a king named Dhanga, having defeated on the battle-field the *Kanyakubja-narendra*, who had subdued all princes, obtained exalted sovereignty :

   ...[ना]मा नरेन्द्रः ।
   [3]...[नि]खिल[नृपं] यः कान्यकुब्जं नरेन्द्रं
   समर[भु]वि विजित्य प्राप साम्राज्यमुच्चैः ॥[3]

It appears he did, if a close scrutiny is made of the material supplied by some Muslim sources. Firishta mentions that Kuwar Ray (=Gurjararaja Rajyapala), the Raja of Kanauj, had been attacked by 'the neighbouring princes' and that he along 'with a number of his principal chiefs' was slain by Nanda Ray, Raja of Kalanjar, who had besieged Kanauj. Also, Mahmud not ignoring this "arrived at the Jumna (*sic*), and was surprised to find that the Raja of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank."[1] In this way Firishta names two of 'the neighbouring princes' (Raja of Kalanjar and Raja of Lahore) who among others were in his opinion responsible for the slaying of Rajyapala. Thus the part of Trilochanapala Sahi, the king of the Punjab, becomes a little clearer. Probably, the initiative came from Trilochanapala Sahi and the matter was taken up by Vidyadhara Chandella. That is why (and not simply for the geographical reason) did Trilochanapala Sahi become Mahmud's first target of attack. The way in which he was being pursued by Mahmud[2] shows that there had been some development on account of him that was not to the liking of Sultan Mahmud. This part of Trilochanapala Sahi, being overshadowed by his more powerful, renowned and aged[3] contemporary Bida or Vidyadhara Chandella, has been ignored by scholars.

Vidyadhara Chandella Assures Help to Trilochanapala

To revert to Ibn al-Asir : ".....his (Bida's) fame spread throughout India. Then one of the rulers of India whose territory had been conquered by Yamin-ud-Daulah, and whose armies had been routed, went to Bida and entered his service

1. Tr. Briggs, I, pp. 37-38.
2. Described by Farrukhi (Nazim, pp. 205-206).
3. Dhanga, Vidyadhara's grandfather, died in A. D. 1002-03 at the age of more than hundred years (Khajuraho stone inscription of Dhanga of V. S. 1059 renewed by Jayavarman in Samvat 1173, *EI*, 1, p. 146, verse 55). This being the basis of our calculation, proceed thus : Dhanga b. 902, Ganda b. 932, Vidyadhara b. 962. Trilochanapala Sahi's approximate date of birth as calculated by us is 970.

and sought his protection. He (Bida) promised to restore to him his country and to protect him, but he made the coming of winter and the continuous fall of the rains an excuse."[1] Gardizi, p. 76, also says : "Nanda had promised to help Taru-jaypal and had agreed to take an army to his country."[2]

Ibn al-Asir makes it clear that the attack on Rajyapala by Vidyadhara was to punish the former for his flight and surrender of his territories to the ravages of the Muhammadans, and not for becoming a feudatory of the Yaminis.[3] He also makes it evident that the cause of that expedition of Mahmud was not Vidyadhara's attack on the Kanauj prince but because of the Chandella prince's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Mahmud in India.[4] Ibn al-Asir thus admirably solves the problem about the causes that induced Mahmud to invade the Doab Region for the second time.

The efforts of Trilochanapala for the recovery of his lost territory are echoed in another Muslim source : "They say that at the time when Sultan Yamin-ud-Dawlah Mahmud Ghazi (God taught him his proof !) determined to raid India in the year 422[5], twelve Rays and many crowded and powerful armies gathered together and joined Tujaipal[6] (*sic*) son of Shah Jaipal, so that they might turn out the Sultan from India and Batujaipal (*sic*) should become the ruler of Lahore."[7]

1. Relevant portion translated in *DHNI*, I, p. 606.
2. Quoted in *ibid.*, fn. 2.
3. As is suggested by Nizamuddin and Firishta. V. A. Smith (*JRAS*, 1909, Part 1, pp. 278-79) based his view on Nizamuddin and disregarded Utbi who had assigned no other reason for this expedition except ambition and love of plunder and had nowhere said that Rajyapala after he escaped from Kanauj submitted to Mahmud (*DHNI*, I, pp. 606-07).
4. *DHNI*, 1, p. 607.
5. The date supplied by the source is, however, wrong.
6. Properly Trilochanapala, son of Shah Anandapala and grandson of Shah Jayapala.
7. *Adabul Muluk*, f. 184a (English translation in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April 1938, pp. 230-231).

SECTION C

OCTOBER 1020 TO MID-1021

THE FINAL ENCOUNTER WITH MAHMUD DURING SULTAN'S SECOND DOAB INVASION

The aims of Sultan Mahmud's second Doab invasion (1020-21) were giving a ferocious fight to all the three principal kings of Northern India (Sahi, Pratihara and Chandella) and the acquisition of wealth. He covered all the three kings in this campaign though the tough fight was given to him only by the Sahi king of the Punjab and the Yamuna-Ganga-RamaGanga Valley. The campaign was characterised by annexation, plunder and intimidation.

Date of Sultan Mahmud's Second Doab Invasion

The generally accepted date for this is A.H. 410 or A. D. 1019-20. But I have a feeling that confusion and uncertainty have been existing on this point since long. Utbi, the court historian, did not supply any date, though he has given exact dates for the first Doab invasion. Dates supplied by other Muslim historians are not uniform :

A. H. 409 Ibn al-Asir
410 Gardizi
410 Nizamuddin
412 Firishta
422 Fakhr-i-Mudabbir

This supports the point of view that there was lack of clarity from the very beginning. If analysed carefully, Ibn al-Asir may prove to be very useful to us. According to him the second Doab invasion was undertaken two years after the first one.[1] This is significant, because he refers to 'a long quarrel' that ensued between Rajyapala and Vidyadhara, that would have naturally taken time (say, one and a half years *or* two years). Also, Ibn al-Asir's narrative creates the impression that not much time elapsed between Mahmud's plunder of Bari and Trilochanapala's death. Alberuni (II, p. 13) puts the date of Trilochanapala's death at A. H. 412

1. The date of the first Doab invasion as given by Ibn al-Asir is A. H. 407 (Nazim, p. 106, fn. 1).

(A. D. 1021-22). Hence by combining these two sources we may put the date of Mahmud's second Doab invasion at A. H. 411 and Trilochanapala's death at the beginning of A. H. 412. The year A. H. 411 (A. D. 1020-21) is free from the occurrence of any important event in the career of Mahmud. The following year (412) saw his second Kashmir invasion. That the second Doab invasion was considerably delayed is shown by Firishta also who gives A. H. 409 and 412 for the two Doab invasions. Also, in 1021, the 14th of Shaban (the date furnished by Ibn al-Asir which we may or may not follow) falls on 23 November which is rather early for Mahmud's reaching the Rama-Ganga river. Hence we are of the view that the second Doab invasion of Mahmud took place in A. H. 411 (A. D. 1020-21).

Amir Mahmud Starts : Ghazni to the Jhelum

When the news about Trilochanapala's alliance with Vidyadhara reached Yamin-ud-Daulah, he was disturbed and prepared to fight. He made larger preparations than he had done before. Having made adequate preparations, Yamin-ud-Daulah started on an expedition towards India.[1] He marched from Ghazni in the beginning of autumn 411 (October 1020) to crush completely the power of Vidyadhara Chandella and his two allies, *viz.*, the new Raja of Kanauj and Bari, Trilochanapala Pratihara (son and successor of Rajyapala), and the king of the Punjab and the Upper Ganges Valley, Trilochanapala Sahi (son of Anandapala). On his way from Ghazni Mahmud chastised the Afghans and passed through the narrow passes in their country.[2] After the expedition against the Afghans, the Sultan turned towards Hind with his bold warriors.[3]

War against the Amir (हम्मीरसंगर) : Defeat and Loss of the Central Punjab (Takkavishaya) A. D. 1020-21

In Hind the Amir met stiff resistance from the very beginning.

1. So far written on the basis of Ibn al-Asir (extracts given in *DHNI*, I, pp. 604-05).
2. On the basis of Ibn al-Asir (*DHNI*, I, p. 605).
3. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 50.

Continues Utbi: "When he arrived in that country (*i.e.*, Hind), he granted quarter to all those who submitted, but slew those who opposed him. He obtained a large amount of booty before he reached the river, known by the name of Rahib."[1] Had Utbi gone into details, he would have certainly mentioned some Hindu warriors/martyrs of the Punjab of which I have been able to name only one[2] after a deep dive into the *River of Kings*. He was Bhijja.

Raja Bhijja was the governor of Takkavishaya (Central Punjab). He was a Kshatriya by caste. He had been given this post at a comparatively young age.[3] He had to face the invasion of Amir Mahmud rather single-handed, because Trilochanapala seems to be in the sub-Himalayan belt. He encountered the enemy with great courage and patience. Probably he was badly wounded in the battle[4] (*sangara*). But he survived it as his descendants are known. The region was permanently annexed to the Turkish empire.

Resistance in the Eastern Punjab

After the Central Punjab came the Eastern Punjab lying between the Sutlej and the Yamuna. As indicated by Utbi, there must have been resistance in this region also. It was suppressed. Those who opposed the Amir were slain. A considerable part of this region was annexed to the Turkish empire.

Encounter in the Doab

Sultan Mahmud reached the Yamuna (Jumna) and having crossed it entered the Doab. The people and the troops were demoralised. Hence we do not think there was much opposition

1. *Ibid.*
2. As indicated at the beginning of the present chapter.
3. According to our calculation.
4. I have inferred it from Kashmir king Sussala's remark to Bhijja's grandson Kamaliya (VIII. 1192): "Is there any person holding a place among self-respecting men, who would abandon his country at the end without having wetted it with the blood of his body, just as the tiger [does not leave] his skin [without having wetted it with his body] ?"

to the Sultan's movement. In the meantime, hearing news of the Sultan's advance, Trilochanapala, son of Anandapala, marched to the south.[1] His intention was either to join forces with his namesake, the ruler of Kanauj and Bari,[2] and thus[3] to assist Nanda[4] (=Vidyadhara) or to seek the shelter of Bida (=Vidyadhara) so that the Khajuraho king might protect him.[5] The Sultan pushed forward in pursuit of Trilochanapala[6] and gradually reached the Ganges.[7] He crossed the river somewhere below Hardwar.[8] Mahmud's crossing "the Rivers Jawn (Jumna) and Ganges" is referred to in the *Adabul Muluk* also.[9] His army crossed the Ganges on horseback while the Hindus had crossed it apparently on elephants.[10]

Encounter East of the Ganges

"After that[11] he hastened on, and on his way he heard about a king of India called Purujaypal (=Trilochanapala). He fled before him and sought the shelter of Bida (=Vidyadhara), so that the latter might protect him. Mahmud traversed stages after stages and overtook Parujaypal (=Trilochanapala) and his followers on the 14th of Shaban; between him and the Hindus there was a deep river."[12] This brings us to the Rahib or Rama-Ganga river. But here I would like to take my readers back to the Ganges

1. Nazim, pp. 94, 111.
2. *Ibid.* This is inferred from Gardizi, p. 76 by Nazim (p. 94, fn. 6). But see *DHNI*, I, p. 605.
3. This linking is ours.
4. Nizamuddin (quoted in Elliot, II, p. 463).
5. Ibn al-Asir (quoted in *DHNI*, I, p. 605).
6. Nazim, pp. 94, 111. Also see p. 204 (for Farrukhi).
7. *DHNI*, I, p. 605 (on the basis of Ibn al-Asir).
8. Inferred by Nazim (p. 111 and fn. 6) from Farrukhi, f. 16a.
9. *Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231.
10. *Ibid.*, fn. 5. Nazim, p. 205 (for Farrukhi).
11. That is, after crossing the Ganges.
12. Ibn al-Asir (*DHNI*, I, p. 605). The deep river is certainly the Rahib of Utbi.

for understanding details of Mahmud's march on the basis Farrukhi.[1]

After crossing the Ganges Mahmud heard that shortly before him, the Shah had crossed the Ganges, followed by lines of elephants. The next morning the *malik* (Mahmud) with his army followed him, intent upon fighting and taking vengeance. When Sultan Yamin-ud-Dawlah reached Sarbal (Sanbar),[2] he received the news that the Hindu army was on the Rahut.[3] He captured the fort of Sarbal[4] quickly. From that fort he turned his attention to the Shah. After a day and night's rapid and continuous march from the fort of Sarbal, he reached the river Rahut. There he learnt that Trilochanapala had crossed over with army the previous night on elephants, and had made preparations to prevent the passage of the river. It has been suggested[5] that Trilochanapala managed to cross the river Ruhut (Rama-Ganga)[6] at a place where it leaves the hills, probably near Afzalgarh.[7] The Sahi

1. Furnished by Nazim, pp. 204-206. Only the point about Sanbar has been taken from the *Adabul Muluk*.
2. The *Adabul Muluk* gives Sanbar (*Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231 and fn. 3).
3. Properly Rahv, *i.e.*, Rama-Ganga, suggests (Miss) Iqbal M. Shafi (*ibid.*, fn. 4).
4. Sarbal may possibly be identified with Sabalgarh, 15 miles south of Hardwar, on the left bank of the Ganges (Nazim, p. 94, fn. 7).
5. By Nazim (pp. 94-95 and fn. 1 on p. 95).
6. The river Rama-Ganga is known as Ruhut in its upper course (*IGI*, 21, p. 175).
7. This place is situated in Bijnor district on the confluence of the Rama-Ganga and its eastern affluent the Dhara and is 34 miles from the district headquarters. It possesses a police station built from the bricks of the old fort, a post office and a large school. The population is predominantly Muslim. See H. R. Nevill, *Bijnor : A Gazetteer*, being Volume XIV of the *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh*, Allahabad, 1908, pp. 19, 191-192.

king had thus been overtaken, though there was a deep river between him and Mahmud. A battle was imminent and unavoidable.

Site of the Last Recorded Battle between Sahis and Turks

Where was the last battle fought between Trilochanapala and Mahmud ?

Nizamuddin[1] and Firishta[2] describe the battle as having taken place on the river Jun (*i. e.*, Jumna). This has to be rejected as a blunder. Gardizi,[3] p. 76, says that the battle took place when both the armies had crossed the Ganges and when Trilochanapala was on his way to Bari : "Jaypal (=Trilochanapala) crossed the Ganges and came towards Bari. Amir Mahmud also crossed the river and scattered those armies. Jaypal (=Trilochanapala) fled away with a few Hindus." More explicit is Ibn al-Asir[4] according to whom the battle took place on a deep river east of the Ganges after crossing which Mahmud had overtaken Trilochanapala. Utbi[5] and Fakhr-i-Mudabbir (author of *Adabul Muluk*[6]) clearly name the river as the Rahib or Rahut which is the Rama-Ganga, a tributary of the Ganges. According to the latter authority Mahmud marched to Kanauj[7] after his victory on the Rama-Ganga.

The exact site, which is not known, may lie anywhere on the eastern bank of the Rama-Ganga[8] from Afzalgarh (Bijnor district)

1. Quoted in Elliot, II, p. 43. "There was a deep river between them", says Nizamuddin like Ibn al-Asir.
2. Tr. Briggs, I, p. 38.
3. Quoted in *DHNI*, I, p. 605, fn. 2.
4. Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 605.
5. Elliot, II, p. 50.
6. *Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Of the Rama-Ganga the *Bijnor District Gazetteer* (entitled *Bijnor : A Gazetteer*), Allahabad, 1908, p. 18, says : "The channel itself is wide and deep, and owing to numerous quicksands the stream is only fordable in dry weather at a few recognised places.....The river is not navigable, but is employed during the rains for floating down large quantities of timber."

to its confluence with the Ganges north of Kanauj. Nizamuddin[1] refers to "the city of Bari, which lay in the vicinity" of the battle-field in his opinion. Bari (as yet unidentified), however, was not situated on or near the Yamuna or the Rama-Ganga river but far away from it.

Battle of the Rahib (Ruhut) or Rama-Ganga

Ibn al-Asir's account of the battle between Mahmud and Parujaypal (Trilochanapala) is as follows[2] : "Mahmud.....overtook Parujaypal and his followers on the 14th of Shaban; between him and the Hindus there was a deep river. Some of his followers crossed the river and reached the enemy, and engaged him in battle. Then he himself with the remaining of his army also crossed over, and they fought for the greater part of the day, and Parujaypal and his followers were defeated, a large number being slain and captured.....Their king fled, wounded, and he did not know what to do."

We have quoted this because of the special value that attaches to the account of Ibn al-Asir who alone throws light on the last part of Trilochanapala's career. Below we present a connected account on the basis of all possible Muslim sources[3] accessible to us, because Ibn al-Asir does not furnish full detail of the battle.

The Rival Armies and the Intervening River

Trilochanapala was encamped, in face of the Sultan, on the eastern bank of the river with his infantry and elephants, and

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1. Quoted in Elliot, II, p. 464.
2. Quoted in *DHNI*, I, p. 605.
3. Utbi (Elliot, II, pp. 50-51), Farrukhi (Nazim, pp. 94-95 with footnotes, 204-06), Gardizi (*ibid.*, p. 95, fn. 5; *DHNI*, I, p. 605, fn. 2), Ibn al-Asir (*DHNI*, I, p. 605), Fakhr-i-Mudabbir (*Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231), Nizamuddin (Elliot, II, pp. 463-64), Firishta (tr. Briggs, I, p. 38).

showed a grim determination to fight.[1] The Sultan hesitated to make an attempt at crossing the river as it was very deep and its bottom full of mud. No one passed over without the Sultan's permission.

Battle : First Stage
Battle on the River
During Night

Trilochanapala showed a determination to resist the passage of the Sultan, but at night he was making preparations to escape down the river. When the Sultan learned this, from which the weakness of his enemy was apparent, he ordered eight men of his camp to swim over to the other bank on inflated skins. Seeing this, Trilochanapala sent a small detachment of his archers with five elephants to oppose their landing. But the eight men plied their arrows so vigorously that the detachment was not able to effect that purpose and they safely gained the opposite bank. Encouraged by their example and by the Sultan's promise of "a life of repose after that day of trouble" to all who would follow them, the whole army plunged into the river, some on horseback, some on inflated skins, and, without the loss of a single life, crossed over to the other side.

Battle : Second Stage
Battle on the Ground
From Morning to Afternoon

Entering the enemy's camp in the morning by surprise,[2] the Muslim soldiers swiftly formed themselves into battle order, fell

1. I disbelieve the following story of the court panegyrist Farrukhi (Eng. tr. in Nazim, p. 206) : "He (the Shah) was very aggressive but became so meek (then) that on the following day, he sent a hundred intercessors to demand quarter." No other source mentions such peace proposals at this stage. On the other hand, the *Adabul Muluk* (*Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231) says that having crossed the Rivers Jawn (Jumna) and Ganges Sultan Yamin-ud-Dawlah pursued the infidel army when "the infidel army halted and began fighting."
2. Firishta, tr. Briggs, I, p. 38.

upon the Hindus and fought for the greater part of the day.[1] The whole army of Trilochanapala was thrown into confusion and defeated.[2] Trilochanapala, though wounded in battle, managed to escape with a few Hindus. Some of the Hindus asked for mercy after being wounded, some were taken prisoners, some were killed, and the rest took to flight. Two hundred and seventy gigantic elephants[3] fell into the hands of the Musalmans.[4] The rich spoils also included two coffers full of precious stones.[5] Farrukhi further adds that among the prisoners of war there were two wives and two daughters of Trilochanapala.[6] Fakhr-i-Mudabbir[7] narrates an interesting story of the Muslim capture of Trilochanapala's wife[8] and the Sultan's returning the same to her husband in a *howdah* with a robe of honour and golden bracelets.

Trilochanapala's War Strategy

An intriguing question is raised by a remark made about Trilochanapala Sahi by Nizamuddin and later by Firishta. Strangely enough, it is in identical terms and the context too is the same. Says Nizamuddin : "So in A. H. 410, he (=Sultan Mahmud) marched again towards Hindustan. When he reached the banks of the Jumna, Pur Jaipal (*v. l.* Taru Jaibal), who had so often fled before his troops, and who had now come to assist Nanda, encamped in face of the Sultan ; but there was a deep river between them, and no one passed over without the Sultan' s permission. But it so happened that eight of the royal guards of Mahmud's

1. Ibn al-Asir (quoted in *DHNI*, I, p. 605).
2. Nizamuddin in Elliot, II, p. 464.
3. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir (*Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231) gives 170 elephants while Farrukhi has 200 (*ibid.*, fn. 6).
4. Utbi in Elliot, II, p. 51. Utbi's account ends here.
5. Farrukhi, f. 16b. Quoted in Nazim, p. 95.
6. Quoted in Nazim, p. 95, fn. 5.
7. *Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231.
8. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir furnishes her name "which according to a Sanskrit scholar may possibly be Anand Lila" (अनन्द लीला), says (Miss) Iqbal M. Shafi (*ibid.*, fn. 8). I suggest Ananda Lila (आनन्द-लीला).

army having crossed the river together,....."[1]

Firishta says : "In the year A. H. 412 (A. D. 1019),..... this year.....the Raja of Kanauj.....Mahmud immediately marched to his aid,.....Mahmud arrived at the Jumna, and was surprised to find that the Raja of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank ; but the deep and formidable river prevented an immediate attack. In this state of anxiety, eight of the royal guards of Mahmud's army, without orders, swam across,....."[2]

The quotations furnished above make it clear that both Nizamuddin and Firishta have taken their matter from the same source, because they mention the Yamuna instead of the Rahib or Rama-Ganga. I feel inclined to interpret the remark in a manner different from the usual one.[3] The remark has been made to indicate contrast in the situation : So far the Punjab king had been fleeing before the Sultan's troops, that is, avoiding a direct confrontation, so much so that the Sultan had now reached the farthest limit he could ; but now, contrary to his expectation, he found that the Punjab king was encamped on the opposite bank of the river. The probable reason of this is also given in the passage where it is stated that the intervening river was deep and formidable. Thus the remark should be deemed applicable to the Sultan's second Doab invasion only[4] and seems to have some connection with the method of Turushka warfare with which Trilochanapala was sufficiently acquainted.[5] Probably Trilochanapala wanted to bring the Sultan into the interior of India and then to strike him with full force with allied help. Thus what was Trilo-

1. Eng. trans , p. 12. Quoted in Elliot, II, pp. 463-464.
2. Tr. Briggs, Vol. I, p. 38.
3. For a usual-type interpretation see *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, p. 233.
4. Farrukhi's account (given in Nazim, pp. 205-06) creates the impression that Trilochanapala was having an exercise in fleeing in what we conveniently call the second Doab invasion of Sultan Mahmud.
5. See *Rajatarangini*, VII. 49-57, 63-64, 70.

chanapala's war strategy in Mahmud's second Doab invasion has been misinterpreted as an instance of his cowardice by modern historians.

Result of the Battle

The result of the battle was indeed disastrous for Trilochanapala and his dynasty. Amir Mahmud scattered his armies. His capture of 270 elephants after the rout of Trilochanapala on the Rahib must have helped to seal the fate of the Sahi dynasty. The shattering of the power, resources and prestige of the Sahis was the net result of the battle that had been fought on the Rama-Ganga in north-western U. P. The process of the rapid vanishing of the royal glory of the Sahis[1] that had started seven years earlier on the Taushi (a tributary of the Jhelum) was completed on the Rama-Ganga (a tributary of the Ganges).

Why the Hindus were Defeated

The mention of the time of the battle by some of our authorities is highly significant. The battle on the river started in the night (Utbi). The Turks entered the enemy's camp in the morning by surprise (Firishta). The battle raged for the greater part of the day (Ibn al-Asir). From this order of events I venture to hazard a guess that the Hindus, as on other occasions iu later history, fought on empty stomachs and hence lost the battle. So far as I am aware, it is only Sir Jadunath Sarkar[2] who has brought forth and emphasised this point of thc Hindus' fighting on empty stomachs in the morning with reference to the second battle of Taraori (Karnal district) fought between Prithviraja III Chauhan and Shihabuddin Ghori in A. D. 1192. I wish to apply this to the battle of the Rama-Ganga as well because of the similarity of the circumstances. What happened at the battlefield of Taraori on the bank of the Sarasvati on Shihabuddin's secretly setting his army in motion some hours before day-break and securing a lodgement

1. Compare *Raj.*, VII. 66 (first line) :
   यथा नामाऽपि निर्नष्टं शीघ्रं शाहिश्रियस्तथा ।
2. *Military History of India*, second impression, Orient Longmans, 1969, pp. 35-37.

in front of the Hindu camp before they could take the alarm is thus described by Sir Jadunath Sarkar[1] :

"It was the early dawn of a winter's day. The deluded Hindus were totally off their guard. Most of their soldiers had come out of their quarters into the waste land around for answering the call of nature or taking their morning bath.....It was the Hindu practice to prepare for a pitched battle by waking at 3 o'clock in the morning, performing the morning wash and worship, eating the cooked food (*pakwan*) kept ready beforehand, putting on arms, and marching out to their appointed places in the line of battle at sunrise. (See Mahadji Sindhia's preparations before setting out for the battle of Tunga or Lalsot, 1787). But in the second battle of Taraori, the Rajputs could take no breakfast; they had to snatch up their arms and form their lines as best as they could in a hurry.....[Battle described]...In this fashion the battle, or rather the series of skirmishes, raged from 9 o'clock in the morning till 3 o'clock in the afternoon, at the end of which the Hindus were utterly disspirited by the futility of their exertions and exhausted from hunger and thirst. Their rigid caste rules prevented them from being readily refreshed with food and drink in the battle front."

Almost exactly the same thing happened, in my opinion, on the Rama-Ganga also. Hence the Hindus who rather felt bewildered and baffled were easily defeated. This battle proved that the army that cannot take the offensive is doomed, and purely passive defence is futile.[2] "War without strategy is mere butchery" (*Encyclo. Brit.*, 21, p. 840).[3]

From Confrontation to Negotiation: Failure and Further Loss

That Trilochanapala survived the battle on the eastern bank of

1. *Ibid.*
2. Sir Jadunath Sarkar makes this remark in respect of the battle of Bilgram, 17 May 1540 (*op. cit.*, p. 65). I apply this to the battle of the Rama-Ganga with equal justification.
3. *Ibid.*

the Rahib (Rama-Ganga) is known to the Muslim authors.[1] But the sequel to the war between Mahmud and the Hindus is indicated by Ibn al-Asir[2] alone : ".....Their king fled, wounded, and he did not know what to do. So he sent a message to Yamin ud-Daulah requesting peace. But Mahmud refused and did not agree to any conditions except Islam, and slew innumerable of his soldiers."

Thus Trilochanapala, who when completely exhausted wanted a compromise on honourable terms, failed in his mission. Only one course was left open for him now.

Murder in the Camp

Continues Ibn al-Asir[3] : "Barujaypal started to meet Bida but some of the Hindus surprised him and killed him (Barujaypal)"[4] According to this Muslim author Trilochanapala marched south

1. Farrukhi (Nazim, p. 206), Gardizi (*DHNI*, I, p. 605, fn. 2), Ibn al-Asir (*ibid* , p. 605), Fakhr-i-Mudabbir (*Islamic Culture*, 12, p. 231), Nizamuddin (Elliot, II, p. 464).
2. *TKA*, Bulak, 1874, Vol. IX, pp. 115-16. English translation given in *DHNI*, I, p. 605.
3. *Ibid.*
4. It was H. C. Ray (*DHNI*, I, pp. 604-05, 607-08) who brought the relevant text of Ibn al-Asir to light that throws welcome light on Mahmud's second Doab invasion (1019-20 A. D. or 1020-21 A. D. as suggested by ourselves). But alas ! he was himself unaware of the correct identification of Parujaypal/Barujaypal of whom so much has been said in the extract from Ibn al-Asir and who was no other than Trilochanapala (Tarojanapala of Alberuni, II, p. 13) of the Sahi dynasty. Ray took him to be "a prince of a separate dynasty" (p. 607) or even "a rival brother or an usurper belonging to the same family" of Trilochanapala Pratihara of Kanauj and Bari (p. 608). Consequently, this useful material has not been incorporated by him in his account of Trilochanapala Sahi (*DHNI*, I, pp. 94-98). He is confused on Sahi's son Bhimapala too (p. 99, fn. 2; pp. 602-03).

to solicit the help of Vidyadhara; but he was murdered by his mutinous soldiers.[1] Further details are lacking.

Date of Death

Alberuni remarks that Tarojanapala (=Trilochanapala) "was killed A. H. 412."[2] Banakati also states that he was killed in 412 H. (Tr. in E. D. III, 59)[3] A. H. 412 lasted from 17 April 1021 to 5 April 1022 A. D. As the major portion of the Hijra year lay in A. D. 1021 and as Trilochanapala died soon after the Rahib battle, we may place the date of his death *almost definitely* in 1021, more probably sometime during late April to June (1021).[4]

Character

The most important point about Trilochanapala that did not fail to impress his contemporary Alberuni was his high character. Take the case of Anandapala. He had to fight several battles against the Muhammadans. "The same prince cherished the bitterest hatred against the Muhammadans from the time when his son was made a prisoner, whilst his son Tarojanapala (Trilochanapala) was the very opposite of his father."[5] This testimony from a contemporary Muhammadan writer speaks a lot about the Sahi king who did not nurture any ill-will against Muslims or Islam.

Another contemporary Farrukhi uses glowing terms about his bravery : "The army-routing and fight-seeking Shah", "He (the Shah) was very aggressive."[6]

But unlike Farrukhi, Kalhana showers praises on Trilochanapala in an unconditional manner. The Sahi, in his opinion, was

1. Hodivala's commentary in Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 600.
2. Tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 13.
3. Hodivala in Elliot, II, Alig. edn., p. 600.
4. If Trilochanapala's treacherous followers were looking for the darkest night for their heinous crime, it was provided by the *amavasya* (अमावस्या) of Jyeshtha on 14 May 1021 or that of Ashadha on 13 June 1021 A. D.
5. Tr. Sachau, Vol. II, p. 14.
6. Nazim, p. 206.

experienced in affairs (*karyamarmajnah*, कार्यमर्मज्ञः, VII. 62), full of great resolution (*mahotsahah*, महोत्साहः, VII. 65) and experienced in war (*ahavatattvajnah*, आहवतत्त्वज्ञः, VII. 54). Says Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* (VII. 60-61, 64) :

"60. Who would describe the greatness of Trilochanapala, whom numberless enemies even could not defeat in battle ?

"61. Trilochana [pala], causing floods of blood to pour forth in battle, resembled Siva (*trilochana*) when sending forth the fire which burns the world at the end of the *kalpa*.

"64. Even after he had obtained his victory,[1] Hammira (Amir Mahmud) did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman prowess of the illustrious Trilochanapala."[2]

Kalhana's enthusiastic praise for Trilochanapala's personal bravery and indomitable courage in misfortune (VII. 60-65) is justified by the accounts of Muhammadan historians.[3]

1. On the bank of the Taushi (Tohi) river.
2. This is indicated by his movements in his second Doab invasion (A. D. 1020-21). It was only after shattering the power of Trilochanapala Sahi that he undertook the invasion of the territories of Trilochanapala Pratihara of Kanauj and Bari and Vidyadhara Chandella of Khajuraho.
3. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VII. 47-69. The wording has been slightly changed but the sense remains unaltered.

CHAPTER VIII

BHIMAPALA

A. D. 1021-1026

Trilochanapala was succeeded by his son Bhimapala. The succession is indicated by Alberuni.[1] The relationship is known from Alberuni[2] and Utbi.[3]

Extent of Kingdom

In the absence of any other evidence, we must conjecture that Bhimapala succeeded to the territories his father was able to save from Muhammadan conquest.[4]

General Policy

As Bhimapala is mentioned by Alberuni, he must have succeeded to some remnant of his father's domains, but it does not appear that in his time he contested the advance of the Muhammadans, though before he ascended the throne we find him taking an active part in defending his father's dominions, under the name of Nidar Bhima, "Bhima the Dauntless."[5]

From his letter to Chand Ray, which is recorded by Utbi, it would appear that he was inclined to peaceful counsels, and that bitter experience had taught him the helplessness of contending with his relentless and sanguinary rivals.[6]

Date of Death

According to Alberuni Tarojanapala (Trilochanapala) "was killed A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021), and his son Bhimapala five years

1. Tr. Sachau, II, p. 13.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Elliot, II, pp. 47-49.
4. *JRAS*, 1848, p. 186.
5. Elliot, II, p. 423.
6. *Ibid.*

later (A. D. 1026)."[1] This means Bhimapala died in A. H. 417[2] which year lasted from 22 February 1026 to 10 February 1027 A. D. As the major portion of the Hijra year lay in 1026, we may place the date of his death *almost definitely* in 1026, more probably in the first half of the year, *i. e.*, during March-June.

The tone of Alberuni's writing suggests that Bhimapala was also killed in some engagement with his rivals.

With Bhimapala's death in A. D. 1026, the Hindu Sahi dynasty came to an end, though not the Hindu Sahi family or families.

A Contemporary Estimate of the Hindu Sahis

The rapid downfall of the powerful Sahi dynasty must have left a deep impression on the mind of contemporary observers, The great qualities of its princes had been acknowledged even by their Muslim adversaries.[3]

Alberuni (A. D. 973-1048), who had witnessed the events which led to the annihilation of the Sahis' power, says regarding them : "This Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct, and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that, in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing" (*India*, II, p. 13).

An Epitaph

The words with which Kalhana refers to the extinction of this great dynasty, VII. 66-69, may be taken as representing correctly the feelings which the catastrophe had roused in the hearts of the people[4] :

1. Tr. Sachau, II, p. 13.
2. Haidar Razi gives nine years as the period of his reign (Elliot, II, p. 423).
3. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VII. 47-69.
4. *Ibid.*

"66. I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the Sahis has vanished even [down to their very] name, this being only an incident.

"67. Nothing is impossible to Fate. It effects with ease what even in dreams appears incredible, what fancy fails to reach.

"68-69. That Sahi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has above been briefly indicated in the account of King Sankaravarman's reign,—now one asks oneself whether, with its kings. ministers and its court, it ever was or was not."

CHAPTER IX

THE DISPERSAL OF SAHI POPULATION

The Hindu Sahis constituted the central point of the Indian policy of Mahmud of Ghazni and he frequently invaded Indo-Gangetic (and Vindhyan) India in order to plunder and terrorise the Sahi kings, their valued allies and potential helpers.

Effects of Mahmud's Indian Invasions and Rule

The effects of his repeated invasion of India were most disastrous for this country and for the Hindus, and adversely affected the relations between them and the Muslims. Says a contemporary : "Mahmud utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed there wonderful exploits, by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouth of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims."[1] "Being in or near the centres of political power, attacked by the Muslims, and symbols of their living ideals, the Sahi monuments were.....exposed to systematic destruction,"[2] and consequently are not found in abundance today.

Apart from the ruthless plunder of huge wealth and the wanton destruction of monuments, the effects included the Muslim

1. Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 22.
2. H. Goetz, 'Two Early Hindu Sahi Sculptures', *Sarupa Bharati* (*The Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume*), Hoshiarpur, 1954, p. 216, fn. 3. As he continues, "Of modern scholars, only Sir Aurel Stein has paid systematic attention to Sahi archaeology. Important material, however, has been collected also by Pt. M. S. Vats." Also see H. Hargreaves, 'Hund, the ancient Udabhanda' (*ARASI*, 1923-24, pp. 68-70), where the archaeologist concludes (p. 70) by saying that he expects "very valuable archaeological discoveries.....at this spot, which was from so early a period the gateway to India, and by which must have passed most of its invaders."

occupation of the territory concerned and the consequent aversion of the Hindus towards all Muslims, cruelty to the people and the exodus of royal princes, nobles, fighters and scholars to other safer areas. The last point is thus stated by Alberuni : "This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places."[1] Elsewhere he says, "This town (=Varanasi) and Kashmir are the high schools of Hindu sciences."[2]

Mass Migrations of Punjabi (Cis-Indus) Families

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* furnishes evidence for the migration of Punjabi families to Kashmir during A. D. 1014-1149. We have already referred[3] to the sons of two unnamed Saindhavas (*i. e.*, inhabitants of the Salt Range region) who had settled in Kashmir and played a significant part in its history during A. D. 1121-1133. Of these Prajji and Sujji, who were brothers, were most important. The first had been appointed to the charge of the 'Gate' (VIII. 1042) while the second had been placed in the post of Chief Justice (VIII. 1046). The Saindhavaka soldiers have also been mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* (VIII. 1868, 2007).

More examples are available of the Takkas who settled in Kashmir and made name there. Originally they were the inhabitants of Takkavishaya or Takkadesa (Central Punjab). Of these, we have already mentioned[4] one family headed by Kamaliya that became important in Kashmir during A. D. 1122-1135. Earlier examples are provided by Vulliya (VII. 520), Asidhara (VII. 1001, 1003), Bimbiya (VII. 1064) and Lakshmidhara (VII. 1207, 1212, 1246, 1249, 1258, 1505). Their period extends from A. D. 1081 to 1101. They have been called Takkas (VII. 520, 1001, 1064, 1207). The word Taka (टाक) used in VII. 414 for a family is a variant of Takka

1. Alberuni's *India*, Vol. I, p. 22.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
3. *Vide supra*, pp. 174 ff.
4. *Vide supra*, pp. 174 ff.

(टक्क). Prof. Buhler thinks that the family was called Taka (टाक), because it came from Takkadesa (टक्कदेश).[1]

Dispersal of Sahi Population

How was the Sahi population dispersed after the Sahis had lost their war against the Turks ?

Taking the cue from Alberuni,[2] we may say that they went over to safer areas in the east (*e. g.*, Varanasi) and in the north (*e. g.*, Kashmir). In the plain region they might have settled from the Punjab right up to Bihar. In the mountainous area, we may presume, they settled in Northern U. P., Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir.

It is only Kashmir about which we possess details of Sahi refugees because of the *Rajatarangini*. We take it up now in the following pages.

Descendants of Trilochanapala and Bhimapala in Kashmir
A. D. 1021/22-1149/50

Several Sahi princes[3] and Sahi princesses[4] played prominent roles in the history of Kashmir. The existence of the Sahis till at least the writing of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* is testified to by that chronicle itself.[5]

Four Generations Mentioned by Kalhana

Having analysed the relevant material, we have come to the conclusion that there were four generations of the Sahi princes[6] that are mentioned by Kalhana in his *Rajatarangini* :

1. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VII. 414.
2. *India*, I, pp. 22, 173. The relevant statements have already been quoted (*supra*, p. 225).
3. *Raj.*, VII. 144, 178, 274.
4. *Ibid.*, VII. 956, 1470, 1550, 1571; VIII. 227.
5. *Ibid.*, VIII. 3230.
6. Called princes in VII. 274, 325, 368; VIII. 545 (राजपुत्र), 1149 (राजात्मज), 1751 (राजवोजी in the first line of the *sloka*, a common appellation in my opinion for both Kumariya of the first line who was the grandson of one obscure Madhu and Raktika of the second line who was the brother of Jyeshthapala).

1. First generation : Rudrapala, Diddapala and Anangapala. Approximate dates of predominance : A. D. 1035-1050 (*Raj.*, VII. 144-179, VIII. 1149).

2. Second generation : Four princes, *viz.*, Bijja, Pittharaja, Paja (Pajaka) and one more *Sahivamsaja* (शाहिवंशज). Approximate dates of activity : A. D. 1070-1083 (*Raj.*, VII. 272-566).

3. Third generation : Padmaka's father, Kumarapala, Bhoja's mother, Vasantalekha and their sisters. Approximate dates of activity : A. D. 1077-1101 (*Raj.*, VII. 956-1579, VIII. 227).

4. Fourth generation : Padmaka, Daryaka, Jyeshthapala and Raktika. Known period of activity : A. D. 1101-1130 (*Raj.*, VII. 1657, VIII. 545-1774).

Two more generations flourished—fifth and sixth generations according to our calculation—till the writing of the *Rajatarangini* in A. D. 1149-50. But they had lost their influence at the Kashmir court and have not been mentioned by name for this reason.

Generations to be Counted after Trilochanapala

The generations indicated above should be deemed as coming after Trilochanapala and not his son Bhimapala. Here are our arguments :

1. This would be a natural conclusion because Trilochanapala is the last reigning king of the Sahi dynasty according to the *Rajatarangini.*

2. In VII. 103 (सुता शाहेः) we have interpreted the word *Sahi* in the sense of Trilochanapala on the basis of the context. If we apply this to other cases, we notice that "Rudrapala and other Sahi princes" (VII. 144, रुद्रपालाद्याः शाहिपुत्राः ; VII. 178, रुद्रपाले ..... अन्येऽपि शाहितनयाः) tend to show themselves as sons of Trilochanapala. Interestingly enough, the use of *putra* (पुत्र) and *tanaya* (तनय) is restricted to the first generation which proves our point. Men of the second generation are called *Sahivamsajah* (शाहिवंशजाः, VII. 274).[1]

1. The terms *Sahiputri* (शाहिपुत्री) and *Sahisuta* (शाहिसुता) have, however, been used to indicate Sahi princesses of the third generation that were married to King Harsha of Kashmir (VII. 1470, 1550, 1571; VIII. 227; also see VII. 956). Hence I do not propose to take this argument of mine too far.

3. The first generation cannot follow the generation of Bhimapala the date of whose known marriage is A. D. 1018. The *Sahiputras* (शाहिपुत्राः, VII. 144; शाहितनयाः, VII. 178) become important in the State from the time King Ananta (b. 1020, d. 1081)[1] "had a little outgrown his childhood" (say, in 1035 at the age of fifteen).

4. By calculation also we arrive at the same conclusion as has been suggested above. For this purpose, let us first find out the birthdate of Daryaka (son of Kumarapala) of the fourth generation which is the last generation indicated by Kalhana. Harsha (b. 1058, d. 1101)[2] married an unnamed Sahi princess (mother of Bhoja) who had been born in 1062 (maintaining a difference of four years between the ages of husband and wife).[3] Her brother Kumarapala was thus born in 1060 (maintaining a difference of two years between the births of two issues). Hence Kumarapala's son Daryaka, called Rajaputra in VIII. 545, was born in 1080 (allowing the first issue when the father was aged 20 years).[4] If we begin the generation with Trilochanapala, Daryaka would belong to generation no. 5. Let us see the situation in Mughal and Hindu Sahi history. From the birth of Babar (generation no. 1) to the birth of Shahjahan (generation no. 5) there elapsed 1592−1483 =109 years. From the birth of Lalliya (generation no. 1) to the birth of Anandapala (generation no. 5) there passed 950−840=110 years. On the same analogy, 110 years should pass from the birth of Trilochanapala (generation no. 1) to the birth of Daryaka (generation no. 5). And surprisingly enough, this proves correct, because 970 (birthdate of Trilochanapala)+110=1080 is the birthdate of Daryaka as arrived at by us earlier in an independent manner.

We now collect and summarise the materials furnished by Kalhana about the Sahi refugees in Kashmir.

1. By combining VII. 452, 484.
2. By combining VII. 1717 and VIII. 35.
3. The probable date of Bhoja's birth is A. D. 1078 when his father and mother were twenty and sixteen respectively.
4. We have already enunciated these principles on page 60.

First Generation

Rudrapala, Diddapala and Anangapala

A. D. 1085-1050

Of the princes of the Sahi family that became important during the early part of Ananta's reign (A. D. 1028-1063), three have been mentioned by Kalhana, *viz.*, Rudrapala, Diddapala and Anangapala. The 'Sahi princes' (*Sahiputrah*) here mentioned (VII. 144-147) may be assumed to have been scions of the royal Sahi family who had come to Kashmir as refugees.[1] Their names, Rudrapala, Diddapala and Anangapala, show the same formation as the names of the last four Sahi kings,[2] Jayapala, Anandapala, Trilochanapala and Bhimapala. They found a safe refuge in Kashmir and exercised great power in the land. They were intimate friends of the king, and used to draw high salaries. Rudrapala had married Asamati, the elder daughter of Induchandra, 'lord of Jalandhara', who is in all probability identical with the Induchandra, named in the genealogical list of the Katoch Rajas of Kangra. This Asamati built a *matha* called after herself at Tripuresvara (mod. Triphar near Srinagar). Subsequently King Ananta was induced to marry Suryamati, a younger daughter of Induchandra. This marriage took place in A. D. 1039 or in January of 1040, because Kalasa, son of Ananta and Suryamati, was born on 12 November 1040 A.D. (VII. 723). That the Sahi princes were still brave soldiers is illustrated by the repulse of the invasion of the Darad king Achalamangala and seven Mlechchha chiefs allied with him by Rudrapala who, we are told, cut off the head of the Darad lord and re-established his "awe-inspiring splendour." This victory of King Ananta over Darads and Sakas (=Mlechchhas) is alluded to also by the poet Bilhana (*Vikramankadevacharita*, XVIII. 34). It is likely that by the word *Mlechchha*[3] Kalhana

1. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. I, note on VII. 144.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Bilhana, however, referring to this victory in the *Vikramankadevacharita* (XVIII. 33-34), designates the enemies of Ananta as *Sakas*. By *Saka*, Bilhana may have hinted at the Turkish origin of the *Mlechchha* princes (*DHNI*, I, p. 139 and fn. 4).

meant Muslim chiefs from the Upper Indus Valley. Rudrapala died of the *luta* disease, and the other Sahi princes too found an early death. Their deaths for a time caused the Sahis to lose their power.

The fame of princes like Rudrapala and others who had come to Kashmir from abroad continued for a long time.[1]

Second Generation
Bijja, Pittharaja and Paja
A. D. 1070-1083

The reign of Kalasa (A. D. 1063-1089) saw the revival of the influence of the Sahi princes. Kalhana speaks of four arrogant *rajaputras* from the Sahi family, "Bijja, Pittharaja, Paja, and another", as his favourites (VII. 274). They are said to have induced the king "to take to a way (of living) which is followed by the wicked" (VII. 273). Bijja supported Kalasa and fought for him (VII. 320-368). Some time[2] (VII. 562-564)[3] after the suicide[4] of Ananta, the father of Kalasa, Bijja lost the favour of Kalasa and accepted self-exile. He was killed in an accidental brawl in the Gauda land (VII. 564-565). His younger brothers underwent the sufferings of a long imprisonment (VII. 565). On their escape from this captivity, Pajaka was killed by a tiger, and the rest of his younger brothers perished after having gone through sufferings (VII. 566).

Third Generation
Kumarapala, Bhoja's Mother and Vasantalekha
A. D. 1077-1101

The third generation is represented by Kumarapala, his unnamed brother whose son was Padmaka, Vasantalekha, Bhoja's unnamed mother and other Sahi princesses that had been married to King Harsha of Kashmir (r. A. D. 1089-1101).

Kumarapala, who has been called Bhikshachara's father's maternal uncle (VIII. 546 : कुमारपालस्य तत्पितुर्मातुलस्य), "must have

1. VIII. 1149 (by implication).
2. Say, two years.
3. These passages are useful for determining chronology.
4. This took place on 20 October 1081 A. D. (VII. 452). "The king's age exceeded sixty-one years when he" met death (VII. 484).

been the brother of the unnamed wife of Harsha who was the mother of Bhoja, Bhikshachara's father."[1] Names ending in *-pala* were common in the Sahi family to which Harsha's chief queens belonged.[2] It appears this Sahi prince had a premature death because he, who occupied a rather privileged position in the State but is mentioned only once in the *Rajatarangini*, did not take any part in Kashmir history. We do not meet this maternal uncle of Bhoja in August 1101 A. D. when Uchchala and Sussala were chasing King Harsha, his son Bhoja and other relations to remove them from the face of the earth; instead we find Padmaka (VII. 1657) : "There fell also his (Bhoja's) maternal cousin Padmaka" (भ्राताऽस्य मातुलापत्यं विपेदे पद्मकाभिधः). This Padmaka in our opinion was the son not of Kumarapala but of some other brother of his.

There are several grounds which compel us to believe that Bhoja, the only legitimate son of Harsha of Kashmir mentioned in the *Rajatarangini* by name, was born of a Sahi princess :

1. The wives of Harsha, Bhoja's father, have been spoken of as Sahi princesses (VII. 956, 1470, 1550, 1571). No other dynasty has been mentioned in this context.

2. There was a lady named Asamati, who being a relative was called by the Sahi princesses out of respect by the name of Didda (VIII. 226-227). This clever woman took Bhoja's son Bhikshachara secretly abroad and this boy grew up in the Deccan (VIII. 227). This compassion shown by the relative of the Sahi princesses towards Bhoja's son may easily be explained if we suppose that Bhoja was the son of a Sahi princess.

3. Kumarapala was the maternal uncle of Bhikshachara's father Bhoja (VIII. 546). Stein rightly conjectures that this "Kumarapala must have been the brother of the unnamed wife of Harsha who was the mother of Bhoja, Bhikshachara's father. Names ending in *-pala* were common in the Sahi family to which Harsha's

1. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, note on VIII. 546.
2. *Ibid.* Compare, in this connection, VII. 179 : "When the blindness created by his (Ananta's) affection for the *Palas* (*i. e.*, Rudrapala and his brothers) had passed away" (पालस्नेहान्ध्यविगमे).

chief queens belonged."[1]

4. Daryaka, son of Kumarapala, has been called a *rajaputra* (राजपुत्र) in VIII. 545. This may refer to the Sahi dynasty. His step-brother Raktika is called a *rajabiji* (राजबीजो) in VIII. 1751. This also should refer to the Sahi dynasty.

5. All the three known sons of Kumarapala, *viz.*, Daryaka, Jyeshthapala and Raktika, were partisans of Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja. Why should these Sahis be his partisans at all unless he be a relative, that is, his father Bhoja be son of a Sahi princess ?

Thus, in our opinion, Padmaka's father, Kumarapala and Bhoja's mother[2] were issues of one particular Sahi prince. This may or may not be true of Vasantalekha and other Sahi princesses who were Harsha's wives.

When Harsha succumbed to his rebel foes (A. D. 1101), Vasantalekha and other Sahi princesses "worthily maintained the fame of their race for valour and courage. They set fire to the stormed palace and found a heroic death in its flames (VII. 1550-1571)."[3] "Seventeen queens with Vasantalekha at their head, including daughters-in-law [of the king], burned themselves there, while the rest left" (VII. 1579). Not only that. "The possessions of King Harsha, who never ceased to thirst for acquisitions, were burned together with his palace, wives and sons" (VIII. 1960).[4]

Of the Sahi wives of Harsha, Vasantalekha seems to be more religious-minded than others, because she is said to have founded

1. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, note on VIII. 546.
2. The probable date of Bhoja's birth is A. D. 1078, when his father Harsha was 20 years old. Hence the date of the marriage between Harsha and Bhoja's mother was perhaps A. D. 1077.
3. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. tr., Vol. II, p. 337 (Note J : 'The Sahi of Udabhanda').
4. Kalhana's narrative knows only of two sons of Harsha (Bhoja and Salha), whereas the plural is used in this passage (*ibid.*, note on VIII. 1960). Bhoja was a legitimate son (VII. 1452, 1525) while Salha was the son of one of King Harsha's concubines (VIII. 210).

mathas and *agraharas* in the City and at the holy Tripuresvara (VII. 956).

Fourth Generation

Padmaka, Daryaka, Jyeshthapala and Raktika. A. D. 1101-1130

At least four scions of the Sahis belonging to the fourth generation are known, *viz.*, Padmaka, Daryaka, Jyeshthapala and Raktika. The last three were sons of Kumarapala born of two wives and strong supporters of Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja and grandson of Harsha.

Padmaka was Bhoja's maternal cousin (VII. 1657). He was killed by Harsha's enemies (*ibid.*) in August 1101 A. D.

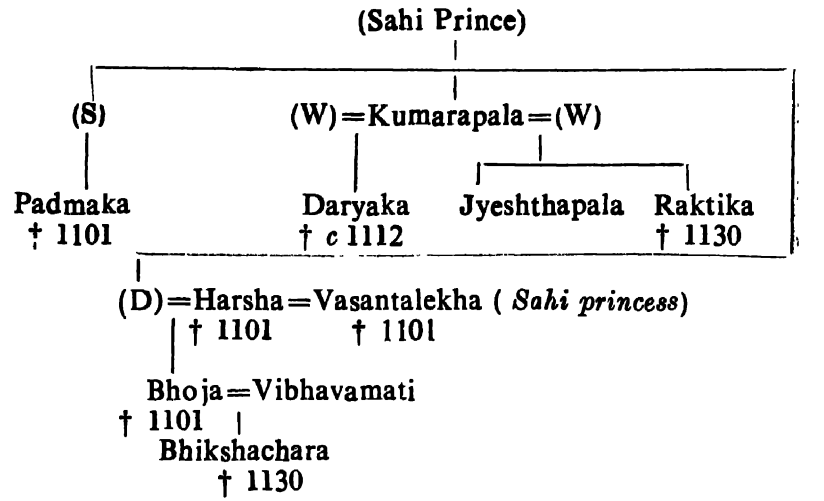
Prince Daryaka was the son of Kumarapala. Though the son of the enemy's brother-in-law, he was brought up by King Sussala (first reign, A. D. 1112-1120) like a son (VIII. 546). Later he was exiled by the king. He forgot gratitude, and led away by family attachment he joined Bhikshachara (VIII. 545). He was foremost in Bhikshachara's force, but soon fell in the battle (VIII. 550) (*circa* A. D. 1112).[1]

Jyeshthapala was a step-brother of Daryaka. Being possessed of astonishing prowess he obtained a foremost place among the confidants of King Bhikshachara (r. A. D. 1120-1121) (VIII. 864). He remained a follower of Bhikshachara (VIII. 1447, 1651, 1671).

Raktika was the brother of Jyeshthapala (VIII. 1751). He was a follower of Bhikshachara and took an active part in his last struggle (VIII. 1751, 1758, 1766, 1774). Immediately after Bhikshachara had been killed, Raktika was disabled by an arrow which hit him in a vital part (VIII. 1766). This man of high lineage (VIII. 1767) was cut down by some vile soldiers (VIII. 1774). This happened on 4 May 1130 A. D. (VIII. 1775).

The following genealogical table, which has been prepared on the basis of the *Rajatarangini* references, shows the relationship between the Sahis and Harsha (A. D. 1089-1101), the last king of the first Lohara dynasty (A.D. 1003-1101) of Kashmir.

1. By combining VIII. 480, 505, 550-617.



Fifth and Sixth Generations
Unnamed Persons
A. D. 1130-1150

Daryaka and his brothers had left; but their sons and comparatively younger grandsons were surely there when the *Rajatarangini* was being written in A.D. 1149-50. It is they who have been referred to by Kalhana in *Raj.*, VIII. 3230. To the time of Kalhana the appellation Sahi threw its lustre on a numberless host of Kshatriyas including the sons and grandsons of Daryaka and his brothers who traced their origin to that royal family. Just as the glass bottle is valued because it has contained Ganga water (VIII. 3229), so were the scions of the Sahis honoured because of their connection with the Sahi emperors of the past. True, they lived now only in name. None of them was under the employment of the Kashmir Government. Being partisans of Bhikshachara, a rival of Sussala and his son Jayasimha, the Sahis fought for him and perished; and those who survived lost influence at the court. That is why persons of the fifth and sixth generations have not been mentioned by Kalhana whose patron was Jayasimha (r. A.D. 1128-1155). They were certainly alive in A.D. 1175-1200 and saw with their own eyes the Muslim conquest of Northern India the beginning of which had been made in the time of their ancestors in A.D. 977-1026.

APPENDIX

A RECENT STUDY OF SAHI COINS

David W. Macdowall has made a learned study of the coins of the Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab under the title 'The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara' in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Volume 8, 1968, pp. 189-224 (with Plates XVII-XIX).[1] A brief summary of the article is given below for the benefit of our readers.[2] For details the article itself may be consulted. Sub-headings have been added by ourselves. Comments have been provided at the end.

Here is the summary.

Distribution of Silver and Copper Coins

Macdowall after making preliminary remarks on the distribution of Sahi coins furnishes a chart (on p. 191) giving the number of the silver coins of Spalapati, Samanta, Khudavayaka and Bhima and the copper coins of Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta found in Afghanistan, Kashmir, Punjab (Rawalpindi, Shahpur, Gujranwala and Guzerat districts) and N. W. India (*i.e.*, Uttar Pradesh : Bareilly, Aligarh and Budaun districts).

Three Major Groupings of Silver Coins

The three major groupings of the primary Bull and Horseman coins of Kabul and Gandhara are :

I. Silver coins with *Śri Spalapati Deva*—struck between 3·1 and 3·5 gm. with a remarkably uniform content of 70 per

1. This article is based on a paper read at the Royal Numismatic Society's meeting on 17 January 1962. The principal accounts of this series are those of Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, 55-67, and Vincent Smith, *IMC*, I, 243ff.
2. I owe this reference to Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Curator, Patna Museum, to whom I express my gratitude. I am also thankful to the author, and the editors and the publishers of the journal.

cent. gold and silver, with the types in good style, and a reverse legend in cursive script which is faithfully copied but progressively misundrestood.

II. Silver coins with *Sri Samanta Deva*—struck to a slightly lower weight standard between 2·9 and 3·3 gm. with good metal but more variety in purity ranging from 61 to 70 per cent. gold and silver. The reverse legend merely survives now as a stylized design, and other features of the types have been copied and progressively misunderstood.

III. Billon coins with *Sri Samanta Deva*—struck to a good weight standard but now merely billon with a gold and silver content of 25 to 30 per cent. There is a further sharp deterioration and progressive stylization of design.

The comparatively rare coins with the legends *Sri Khudavayaka* and *Sri Bhima Deva* seem to belong to the second of these three major groupings. The extensive series of billon coins struck by other medieval Indian dynasties in imitation of the Bull and Horseman series seem to constitute later phases of the coinage of group III.

Within each of these three major groupings, further stages can also be distinguished and a number of these can also be set in their relative chronological context.

First Major Group

The progressive changes in the character of the silver coinage of Spalapati can be traced through all the nine principal issues of the coinage that can be distinguished by their use of a characteristic symbol or letter in the reverse field behind the horseman's head. These issues are in fact merely subdivisions of the categories that are defined by the use of different 'scripts' for their reverse legend; and like these primary subdivisions, the nine issues also constitute a successive chronological sequence, each successive issue being struck to a slightly lower weight standard and betraying traces of progressive development and type deterioration.[1]

Second Major Group

In the second major group—the silver coins with the legend Sri Samanta Deva and the allied issues with Sri Khudavayaka and

1. Then follows a description of Issues I-IX (pp. 196-197).

Sri Bhima Deva—the same slight but progressive reduction in real silver content may possibly have continued. But it is much more difficult to use this category of evidence to suggest any clear chronological sequence. Within this second group, six major issues can be distinguished by objective criteria. Four of these have the legend Sri Samanta Deva and some other distinguishing feature. The other two issues are distinguished by their obverse legends Sri Khudavayaka and Sri Bhima Deva. The double Arabic connection—the use of the Arabic dirhem's weight standard and of the Arabic word *adl*—strongly supports the suggestion that these coins of Khudavayaka may well be coins of Yaqub, the Muslim conqueror of Kabul. Bhima coins also belong to this general context towards the end of the Samanta silver group. And the fact that all the rare silver coins of Bhima are struck to a close weight standard of 3.2 gm. suggests that the Bhima issues came before the degeneration began in the conch-shell symbol issue of Samanta.

Third Major Group

The third major group—the coins in billon wtth the legend Sri Samanta Deva—has a silver content of 25 to 30 per cent. This is a sharp reduction from the 61 to 70 per cent of the second group and there is no indication of any progressive debasement that would bridge the gap. These billon coins seem to fall into two principal series.

Copper Coins

The associated copper coins of this dynasty have the obverse legends :

Sri Spalapati Deva
Sri Vakka Deva
Sri Samanta Deva
Sri Bhima Deva

Three of these four legends are also found on the silver coins, but the fourth, Sri Vakka Deva, is only known from the copper denomination. Copper coins with the legend Sri Spalapati Deva have the same Bull and Horseman types as the silver. Those with Sri Vakka Deva, Sri Samanta Deva, and Sri Bhima Deva have the distinctive types of the lion and elephant. There are no copper coins of Spalapati with the Lion and Elephant type.

The copper issues proper constitute a complementary denomination that provides the small change for the Bull and Horseman silver; and, like the silver, they suffer a progressive reduction in weight which enables us to establish their chronological sequence.

Three Major Groupings of Copper Coins

The order of the principal groups of copper coins seems to be first the Bull and Horseman coppers of Spalapati, then the Lion and Elephant coppers of Vakka, and finally the Lion and Elephant coppers of Samanta.

First Major Group

The copper coins of Spalapati with the Bull and Horseman type come first and are very close in detailed treatment to the earlier silver coins of Spalapati with the same types.

Second Major Group

The second major group in the copper denomination consists of the coins of Sri Vakka Deva with the new Lion and Elephant types. Six successive issues of Vakka can be distinguished by a series of privy marks. The copper coins of the Lion and Elephant type with the legend Sri Vakka Deva were contemporary with the second stage of the silver of the Bull and Horseman type with the legend Sri Spalapati Deva, and provided the small change for tha silver.

Third Major Group

The third major group in the copper denomination, the Lion and Elephant coins with the legend Sri Samanta Deva, can also be analysed into their successive issues. There were three issues in all.

Rare Copper Coins

The rare copper coins with the legend Sri Bhima Deva are known to Macdowall from three worn specimens in London, Oxford, and Paris. He places them after the three main issues of Samanta's coppers. There are also some rare coppers of Samanta struck to a lower weight standard than the third copper issue of Samanta.

The other rarities or supposed rarities of this dynasty are generally known from single specimens. Cunningham described a supposedly unique coin of Venka Deva restored which seems to be a contemporary unofficial copy to serve as a fraction of the main

copper denomination. A supposedly unique copper coin of Padama was described by Bayley (*NC*, 1882, 128ff.) with the legend

? Sri Padama ?
Pakama ?
Vakama ?

There is no good reason to regard this coin as anything other than a normal copper coin of Vakka issue (vi).

Gold Coinage

The unique gold coin of the Hindu kings published by Ajit Ghose in *NC* 1952, 133ff., which has *Sahi Sri Bhima Deva* on the obverse and *Srimad Gunanidhi Srisamanta Deva* on the reverse, is interpreted by him as a coin of Bhima commemorating Samanta who had abdicated in his favour. But in al-Biruni the predecessor of Bhima is Kamalu; and the silver coins show that Samanta was used as a form of title throughout the series.[1]

Value of Detailed Numismatic Analysis

This detailed numismatic analysis, which establishes the chronological sequence of the principal issues of the Bull and Horseman silver coins and their associated copper denominations, throws considerable light on the chronological range of the series and enables us to relate a number of external synchronisms with recognized stages in the sequence.

Final Conclusion

We may now quote in full Macdowall's final conclusion (pp. 211-212): "The legends Sri Spalapati Deva, Sri Vakka Deva, and Sri Samanta Deva cannot therefore be names of individual kings but must be titles repeated continuously for a whole range of kings throughout a dynasty. If we seek the coinage of individual kings

1. This matter is given by Macdowall as a footnote (p. 212, fn. 1) which we have transferred here to the text. Incidentally, this has necessitated a correction in our text (pp. 24 fn., 87) which stated that the Hindu Sahis did not issue gold coins.

we must rather look at the various issues distinguished above within the coinages of Spalapati and Samanta. Coins with the legends Sri Khudavayaka and Sri Bhima Deva, on the other hand, are more akin to single issues. The solution one would like to offer is the identification of these various issues with known kings of the dynasty. This still remains very obscure, but the establishment of the sequence of coin issues and of some key synchronisms clarifies some points. It can be seen that Kallar, the Brahman minister who supplanted Lagaturman, rather than Kamalu Rai of Hindustan at the time of Amru Lais (A. D. 878-90) is probably the king to whom the *ka* on Spalapati issue VII should be referred. Samand in al-Biruni's list is probably a name falsely inferred from the existence of so many coins with Sri Samanta Deva. Sri Khudavayaka (or Sri Khamarayaka) who has the Arabic *adl* and used the weight standard of the dirhem could very well be Yaqub, the Muslim conqueror of Kabul in A. D. 870. Bhim ruling in A. D. 950 to 958 could well have been the king of the rare silver and copper coins with Sri Bhima Deva, but Bhimapala, killed in A. D. 1026, is certainly too late for that issue. On the rare coins that bear his name in full Bhima stands out as an innovator. In the silver series he substitutes his name for the previously standard titulature and is the issuer of the only gold coin known so far in the series. It is difficult to believe that these rare coins are the only ones issued by the powerful Bhim and some at least of the issues with *bhi* (भी) may plausibly be connected with him. But neither Bhim nor Bhimapala can be the king responsible for all the coins with *bhi* (भी) in the reverse field, as these are coextensive with all the silver issues of Samanta and continue on to the two major billon series of Samanta as well. One would like to establish what was the coinage of the great Jaipal. From the chronological context of the issues, it should be the conch-shell issue of Samanta, i e. issue IV (the last issue in good silver), and the first major billon issues that succeeded that issue after the collapse of the silver denomination. As a result, much of the historical mystery surrounding the Shahis remains, but we do at least have a numismatic sequence and chronological framework against which we can measure the plausibility of suggested identifications."

Chronological Chart of Coins

After giving his conclusion Macdowall furnishes the following chart :

A. D.	*Silver issues*		*Copper issues*	
c. 750	Spalapati	I		
		II	Spalapati	
		III	Vakka	(i)
		IV		(ii)
		V		(iii)
		VI		(iv)
		VII		
		VIII		(v)
		IX		
c. 850	Samanta	I	Samanta	(i)
c. 870	Khudavayaka	I		
		II		
c. 900	Samanta	II a	Samanta	(ii)
		II b		
		II c		
		III	Samanta	(iii)
c. 955	Bhima		Bhima	
c. 970	Samanta	IV	Samanta	(iv)
c. 1000	Samanta	BILLON		

Catalogue of Coins and Appendices

Macdowall then proceeds to give a catalogue of coins of the Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara with pertinent details (pp. 212-219), tables of weights (Appendix A, pp. 219-221), spectrographic analysis of coins of the Shahis (Appendix B by Professor F. C. Thompson and Miss P. McQuilkin, pp. 222-223) and specific gravities of coins of the Shahis (Appendix C by Keith Howes, pp. 223-224).

Royal Titles

Macdowall's study is painstaking and admirable. It is good that he accepts Spalapati, Vakka and Samanta of the coins as mere titles and not personal names. But his suggestion that Spalapati's coinage started as early as c. 750 A. D. may not be acceptable to historians unless we regard this Spalapati as a king of the Turki Shahiya dynasty of Kabul. This has landed him into another difficulty too.

Figures : Dates or Cursive Bactrian Legends ?

In the reverse field of some coins of both Spalapati and Samanta are figures that have been read as dates by Bayley[1] and Vincent Smith[2] 802, 812, 813, 814, 815, and 817 'in numerals of a form intermediate between those of the medieval Indian mints and the modern Arabic forms.' Vincent Smith argues that if the same dates occur on the coins of both Spalapati and Samanta, this supports the suggestion that both those titles may have been used by one king, the Kallar of Alberuni and the Lalliya of the Kashmir chronicle. But in Macdowall's opinion this interpretation of the figures as dates has now been rendered untenable by Ghirshman's[3] discovery that there is a legend in a cursive script that he calls Tokharian and can now be recognized as Bactrian in this position on some coins of Spalapati. He feels that the figures which have been interpreted as numerals are in fact merely the corrupt remains of this cursive legend copied and progressively misunderstood by successive moneyers. A large number of coins can be arranged in sequence to show the progressive deterioration, he adds. Thus he rejects Vincent Smith's quite reasonable and helpful interpretation of some figures as dates. We are, however, in favour of accepting Smith's suggestion and disagreeing with Macdowall on this point, because any novel theory should not create more problems than it solves.

1. 'Remarks on Certain Dates Occurring on the Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul', *NC*, 1882, 128.
2. *IMC*, I, 245.
3. R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, 40, note I. But Macdowall gives an alternative reading as well (p. 192, fn. 3)

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INDEX

Abbottabad, in Hazara district, NWFP, 33 n.

Abhaya (अभय), king of Urasa, 79.

Abhimanyu (अभिमन्यु), king of Kashmir, 7, 57, 58, 60, 61, 80, 81, 87, 95.

Abu Abdulla Muhammad, commander of Mahmud Ghaznavid, 183, 184.

Abu Ali Lawik, 102.

Abu Bakr Lawik, 99, 102.

Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, 101.

Abul Fath Daud, Amir of Multan, 131-135, 139, 155.

Achalamangala (अचलमंगल), king of Darads, 229.

Adabul Harb wash-Shuja'ah, 114 n.

Adabul Muluk wa Kifayatul Mamluk, also abbreviated as *Adabul Muluk*, 5, 108n, 114 n, 116, 120, 138 n, 205 n, 209, 210 n, 213 n.

Aditya (आदित्य), the Sun god of Multan, 70.

Afghan, 100 n, 109, 115 n, 123, 132, 137, 207.

Afghanistan, 1, 17 n, 20, 35, 49, 111 n, 112, 235 ; Eastern, 28.

Afzalgarh, in Bijnor district, 210, 211.

Ahar, in Bulandshahr district, 35.

Ahichchhatra (अहिच्छत्र), in Bareilly district, 193, 194.

Ahmad, Nizamuddin, 2, 163 n. *Also see* Nizamuddin.

Ahmad, S. Maqbul, 97 n, 98 n.

Ahmedabad, on the Jhelum in the West Punjab, 22 n.

Ajmer, 108 n, 110, 112, 140 n, 155, 158.

Alakhana (अलखान), king of Gurjara, 27-33.

Al-arkand, 24.

Alberuni and his *India* (*Indica*), *passim*.

Aligarh, 235.

Al Lahawar of Alberuni in Mardan district, summer capital of Sahis, 27.

Alptigin, 92, 94, 99-101, 115.

Altuntash, commander of Mahmud Ghaznavid, 184.

Amb, 14, 15.

Amoghavarsha (अमोघवर्ष), Rashtrakuta king, 86.

Amr ibn Lais, 11, 32 n, 40-44, 46, 47, 240.

Amrita-Kesava (अमृतकेशव), temple of Vishnu, 85.

Ananda Lila (आनन्द-लीला), 214 n.

Anandapala (आनन्दपाल), Anandapal, sixth king of the Sahi dynasty, 2, 3, 80, 93, 94, 115, 116, 123, 128, 129n, 131-167 (chapter on Anandapala), 168, 192, 219, 228, 229.
Anangapala (अनंगपाल), Sahi refugee prince, 227, 229.
Ananta (अनन्त), king of Kashmir, 4, 58, 59, 74, 75, 79, 228-230.
Anga (अंग), 36.
Arab, 26, 29, 76, 101, 102.
Arabic, 18, 22, 56, 171, 201, 237, 242.
Arjuna (अर्जुन) of Dubkund inscription in Morena district, 202, 203.
Arslanul Jazib, commander of Mahmud Ghaznavid, 183.
Asai, Asi, 196.
Asamati (आसमती), daughter of Induchandra, 4, 229, 231.
Ashatapaladeva (अषटपालदेव), 92.
Asidhara (असिधर), a Takka, 225.
Atoli, near Loharin, 72.
Attalika (अट्टलिका, अट्टालिका), town in Lohara, 72.
Attalikapana (अट्टालिकापण), market of Attalika, 72.
Attock, 12, 13, 21, 26, 134, 144n, 145, 151, 154.
Avantivarman (अवन्तिवर्मन्), king of Kashmir, 15, 28-31, 36.
Badathwal, Pitambar Datta, 17n.
Bahind, same as Waihind (Udabhanda), 122.
Baihaqi, 182 n.
Baladitya (बालादित्य) of Chatsu inscription in Jaipur district, 76.
Balanatha (बालनाथ), 183, 184.
Balkh, 46, 136.
Balnat, 127, 167, 183.
Bamadin, 82.
Bamhi (=Bhimi or Bhaimi), 96, 196.
Banakati, author, 219.
Banda (बन्दा), used for Vidyadhara, 170.
Bannu, in NWFP, 117, 118, 124.
Baoti Pind, in Hazara district, 151.
Baran, 196.
Bareilly, 235.
Barhatakin, founder of the Turki Shahiya dynasty, 9.
Bari, 128, 171, 172, 196, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 218, 220.
Barikot (Upper Swat), inscription of the reign of Jayapala, 89, 98, 118, 124.
Barthold, W., 46.
Baru Jaypal, same as Trilochanapala, 171, 218.
Batujaipal, same as Trilochanapala, 205.
Bavan, 82.
Bayley, 53, 242.
Beas, 32, 116, 133.
Benares, 225. *Also see* Varanasi.
Bhagika (भागिक), nephew of Prajji, 181.
Bhaimi (भैमि), word for deno-

ting Bhima's son or descendant, 96, 97.
Bhandarkar, D. R., 76.
Bharata (भरत), ruler of Lahore kingdom, 115.
Bhatinda, in the East Punjab, wrongly interpreted as a capital of Sahis or even of Bhattia, 6, 100n, 122n, 123n.
Bhatiya, 100, 131n, 132.
Bhatnair, 100 n.
Bhatti, 25.
Bhattia Raja, 100, 101.
Bhatti Rajput, 5.
Bhattiya, 100.
Bhavan, Bhimnagar below Kot Kangra, 71.
Bheda (Bhira), on the Jhelum in the West Punjab, 22 n.
Bhera, in the West Punjab, wrongly interpreted as a capital of Sahis, 6, 7, 100 n, 128, 131 n.
Bhijja (भिज्ज), *roja* of Takkavishaya (Central Punjab), 174-181, 208.
Bhikshachara (भिक्षाचर), king of Kashmir, later pretender to its throne, 79, 230-234.
Bhim (भीम), name of a fort (Fort of Bhim), 69, 70.
Bhima (भीम), Bhim, Bhimadeva, Bhima Sahi, Bhimashah, fourth king of the Sahi dynasty, 2-4, 6-8, 18, 22, 54, 55, 56- 88 (chapter on Bhima), 89, 91, 95-97, 128, 153, 192, 196, 235-242.
Bhimadvipa (भीमद्वीप), 83.
Bhimagupta (भीमगुप्त), king of Kashmir, 59, 61.
Bhima-Kesava (भीम-केशव), temple of Vishnu erected by Bhima, 7, 82-85.
Bhimanagara (भीमनगर), Bhimnagar, also called Nagarkot (नगरकोट), 69-71, 105 n, 135n, 139-141, 146 n, 149-154, 159.
Bhimanagarakotta (भीमनगरकोट्ट), Bhimnagarkot, Bhimkot, fort, 69.
Bhimapala (भीमपाल), Bhimpal, also called Nidar Bhim, eighth and last king of the Sahi dynasty, 2, 3, 7, 90, 93, 94, 128, 138, 139, 184, 185, 195, 197, 198, 218 n, 221-223 (chapter on Bhimapala), 226 229.
Bhimatika (भीमतिकाग्राम), 83 n.
Bhimi, 97.
Bhira, on the Jhelum in the West Punjab, 22.
Bhoja (Pratihara), Bhojadeva, Mihira Bhoja (मिहिर भोज), Bhoja Adhiraja (भोज अधिराज), 27-35, 76.
Bhoja (भोज), son of King Harsha of Kashmir, 59, 79, 227-234.
Bhojadeva (भोजदेव) of the Paramara dynasty, 202 n.
Bhota (भोट), 67, 68,
Bhotanatha (भोटनाथ), 66-68.

Bhubharta (भूमर्ता) or governor, 176, 178.
Bhubhata (भूभट), minister of Kashmir, 81.
Bida (बीदा), used for Vidyadhara (विद्याधर), 170, 201, 202, 204, 205, 209, 218.
Bihand, Bitand, Bithand, same as Waihind (Udabhanda), 122, 134.
Bijja (विज्ज), Sahi refugee prince, 227, 230.
Bijnor, 210 n, 211.
Bilkatigin, 101.
Bimba (विम्बा), daughter of 'the Sahi' (probably Trilochanapala), 93, 94, 165, 166.
Bimbiya (विम्बिय), a Takka, 225.
Bitunda, 126.
Brahmagupta (ब्रह्मगुप्त), astronomer, 24.
Brahmana (ब्राह्मण), Brahman, Brahmin, 3, 4, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17, 35, 42, 76, 106 n, 118, 175 n, 240, 252.
Brahmanapala (ब्राह्मणपाल), Brahmapala (ब्रह्मपाल), misreadings in Muslim sources for Trilochanapala, 141.
Brahmana Sahi (ब्राह्मण शाहि), term used for Hindu Sahis by scholars, 17.
Briggs, *passim*.
Budaun. 235.
Budauni, 120.
Buhler, G., 23, 186n, 226.
Bulak, 111 n, 218n.
Bulandshahr, 35, 196.
Buliasa-Bolyasaka, 32n.
Buma, Bumai, 83.
Bumazu, 82-83.
de Casparis, J. G., 36.
Chakrasvamin (चक्रस्वामिन्), name of the Vishnu idol at Thanesar, 163.
Chamba (Skt. Champa चम्पा), 32n, 79, 92,100.
Chandal (Chandarpal, Chandpal) Bhor, a chief, 197.
Chand (Chandar) Ray of Sharwa, 93, 164n, 171, 189, 190, 195, 197, 198, 221.
Chandella (चन्देल्ल), 66, 67, 77, 90, 112, 160n, 164n, 169, 170, 199, 201-207, 220n.
Chandradat, 115, 116.
Chandralekha (चन्द्रलेखा), co-wife of Didda, 61.
Chanduraja (चन्दुराज), ancestor of Lohara family, 73.
Charakh, in Afghanistan, 102.
Chatarpur, also written as Chhatarpur, 199.
Chatsu, in Jaipur district, 76.
Chaturbhuja (चतुर्भुज), temple at Khajuraho, 69.
Chavannes, 99.
Chenab, river, 5, 28, 31n, 71, 115, 134, 135, 153, 186.
Chhachh, in Attock district, 26, 80, 139-153, 160.
Chhoja (छोज), minister of Kashmir, 81.
Chitraratha (चित्ररथ), minister

Kashmir, son (*or* holding the position) of a Brahmana councillor (VIII. 1620), 180n.
Chobnath, 22n.
Cowie, W. G., 83n.
Cunningham, A., 1, 10n, 13-15, 19-22, 25n, 27, 49n, 50n, 53, 56, 57n, 80, 83n, 87n, 89, 93, 166, 170n, 194, 195, 235n, 238.
Damara (डामर), 'feudal landholder' in Kashmir, 187.
Darad (दरद्), Dard, 16, 24, 25, 30, 39, 78, 229.
Darband, near Tarbela in Hazara district of NWFP, 147n, 151n.
Darvabhisara (दार्वाभिसार), territory of 'Darvas and Abhisaras' between Vitasta and Chandrabhaga, 28, 31, 32n, 73.
Daryaka (दर्यक), son of Kumarapala, 227, 228; 232-234.
Deane, Major, 85, 86.
Delhi. 40, 44, 96, 108n, 112, 140n, 155, 158, 163, 165.
Deogadh, 200.
Deohra, 164n.
Dera, 164.
Dera Gopipur, 164n.
Dera Ismail Khan, NWFP, 14.
Devapala (देवपाल), Pala king, 35, 36.
Devapala (देवपाल), Pratihara king, 66-68, 76.
Devavarman (देववर्मन्), Chandella king, 90, 199.
Dewai Stone Inscription, 3, 41, 42, 56, 85, 91n.
Dey, B., 103n.
Dhanga (धंग), Chandella king, 66, 77, 112, 113, 157, 169, 204n.
Dhara (धारा), river, 210n.
Didda (दिद्दा), queen of Kashmir, granddaughter of Bhima Sahi, 7, 56-61, 72-76, 80-84, 87, 88, 96, 97, 113, 231.
Diddapala (दिद्दापाल), Sahi refugee prince, 227, 229.
Dihandas (दिहणडाः), wrong text for उदमाणडाः , 126n.
Doab, 6, 112, 154, 172, 184n, 189, 190, 196-198, 205-209, 215, 216,218n, 220n;Western, 35.
Duar-i-Hind, 26.
Dubkund, on the left bank of the Parang river in Morena district, Gwalior Division, a few miles to the west of the Kunu river (these two small rivers fall into the Chambal), 202.
Durlabha (दुर्लभ), 63.
Dvivedi, Hazari Prasad, 17n.
Elliot, H. M., *passim*.
Elphinstone, M., 101.
Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, author, 206, 211, 212n, 214, 218n.
Fardaghan, 43.
Farrukhi, poet, 94, 164n, 170n, 172, 191, 204, 209-219, 245.
Firishta, *passim*.
Futuh-us-Salatin, 2, 100, 120-122.

Gadahasta (गदाहस्त), epithet of Bhima, 4, 56, 86, 91.
Gadun, 85.
Gagri, 72.
Gahadavala (गाहडवाल), 77.
Gakhar, Gakkhar, 80, 140, 145, 155.
Ganda (गण्ड), Chandella king, 157, 158, 169, 170, 204n.
Gandgarh, 151.
Gandhara (गन्धार), 6, 12, 15, 32n, 39, 44, 47, 53, 82, 83, 94, 95, 97, 99, 102, 112, 118, 125, 126n, 235, 241.
Ganga (गंगा), 190, 206, 234.
Ganges, 88, 115, 169, 191, 194n, 197, 209-216. *Also see* Ganga.
Ganguly, D. C., 99-102.
Garbett, C. C., 13-15.
Gardizi, author, 106n, 117, 120, 141n, 150n, 163n, 164n, 170n, 184n, 185n, 187n, 190n, 201, 202, 205, 206, 209n, 218n.
Gauda (गौड), 192n, 230.
Gaudodra (गौडोड्र), 192n.
Ghaznavid, 1, 17, 78, 114, 165, 181, 188.
Ghazni, Ghazna, Ghaznin, in Afghanistan, 2, 5-8, 43, 69, 78, 92-95, 99, 101-107, 114, 116, 118, 124, 126, 127, 129n, 131-136, 141, 143, 150, 151, 159, 162, 165, 177-182, 187, 188, 196, 198, 199, 201, 207, 211, 212n, 224.
Ghirshman, R., 242.
Ghor, 163.
Ghose, Ajit, 239.
Ghuzak, in Afghanistan, 104.
Goetz, H., 224n.
Gopala-Kesava (गोपालकेशव), temple of Vishnu, 85.
Gopalavarman (गोपालवर्मन्), king of Kashmir, 7, 11, 30n, 40, 46, 48, 52, 57, 81n, 87.
Gopal, L., 13, 17, 20, 23, 51n, 54n, 56, 87n.
Gorakhanatha (गोरखनाथ), 16, 17n.
Goyal, S. R., 38, 54n.
Guhilaputra (गुहिलपुत्र), 76.
Guhilot, 76.
Gujranwala, West Punjab, 28, 235.
Gujrat, West Punjab, 28, 31n, 235 (Guzerat).
Gulbahar, place in Afghanistan, 20.
Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi, 111.
Gupta, P. L., 235n.
Gurjara (गूर्जर), 28-34.
Gurjarabhubhuj (गूर्जरभूभुज्), 27, 28.
Gurjaradhipa (गूर्जराधिप), 27, 28.
Gurjara-Pratihara (गुर्जर-प्रतीहार), 27, 67, 68, 111n, 164n, 170n, 171.
Gurjararaja (गुर्जरराज), 104.
Gwalior, 76, 140n, 155, 157, 202n.
Habib, M., 90n, 163n, 171, 198n.
Haidar Razi, author, 222n.
Haig, Sir Wolseley, 1, 102, 163n, 201n.
Hamdullah al-Mustawfi, author, 124.

Hamid Lawi, Amir of Multan, 100-103, 131.
Hamirpur District, 199, 202.
Hammira (हम्मीर), 8, 112 (Hamvira हंवीर), 178, 179, 182, 186, 187, 203, 220.
Hammirasangara (हम्मीरसंगर), 'War against the Amir', 176, 177, 179, 207, 208.
Hardwar, 191, 209, 210n.
Hargreaves, H. S., 224n.
Harsha (हर्ष), king of Kashmir, 59, 79, 82, 85, 227-234.
Harsharaja (हर्षराज), Guhilot prince, 76.
Hasan Maimandi, minister of Mahmud, 122n.
Hastika (हास्तिक), 172, 173, 190-195, 197n.
Hastikam (हस्तिकाम्), 195.
Hastina (हास्तिन), 172, 173, 191, 195, 197n.
Hastinapura (हस्तिनापुर), also called हास्तिन and हास्तिनपुर, in Meerut district, 172, 191, 193-195, 243.
Hayapati (हयपति), an epithet, 66-68, 76.
Hazara, 32n, 33, 47, 77, 80.
Hazro, in Attock district, 139, 142, 144, 145, 147n, 151, 152.
Herambapala (हेरम्बपाल), Pratihara king, 66-68, 76-78.
Herat, in Afghanistan, 25, 136.
Himachal Pradesh, 226.
Himalaya (हिमालय), 16, 25, 28, 196, 208.
Hind, 98, 115, 124, 128n, 162, 182, 183, 184, 195, 207, 208.
Hindu, *passim*.
Hinduism, 16, 112, 157.
Hindu Kush, 102, 136.
Hindu Sahi (हिन्दू शाहि), Hindu Shahiya, *passim*.
Hindustan, 40-43, 46, 105, 110, 140n, 155, 199, 214, 240.
Hissar, 28.
Hiuen Tsiang, 5, 27, 31, 34.
Hodivala, S. H., 43, 95, 96, 100n, 105n, 120-122, 125n, 141n, 145n, 150n, 152, 168n, 219n.
Howes, Keith, 241.
Hudud al-Alam, 126.
Humbach, H., 20, 54.
Hund, form of local name Und (Waihand), 26, 27, 147n, 150n, 224n.
Hussain, Agha Mahdi, 98n, 100, 120-122.
Hutpal, father of Jayapala according to Firishta, 90, 97.
Ibn al-Asir, 111, 123, 135n, 163n, 170, 172, 201-212, 214n, 216, 218.
Idrisi, al-Sharif al-, 97, 98.
Ilak Khan, 135-138.
India, 17, 20, 26, 27, 39, 84, 97, 99, 101, 109, 111, 116, 117, 124, 128, 138, 155, 158, 160, 161, 164, 165, 168, 171, 177, 178, 188, 202, 204, 209, 215; Northern, 17n, 49, 194, 199, 206, 234; North-West, 1, 65, 66, 70, 235.

Indragupta (इन्द्रगुप्त), father of Viradeva, 35, 36.
Induchandra (इन्दुचन्द्र), king of Jalandhara, 4, 229.
Indus, 6, 12, 21, 25, 26, 32. 33, 47, 65, 71, 77, 98, 100, 103, 112, 116, 117, 119, 123-135, 141-147, 154, 230.
Iqbal M. Shafi, 114.
Isami, 2, 90n, 98, 120-122.
Ishta (इष्ट), 85, 92.
Ishtapala (इष्टपाल), Ishtapal, 90-92.
Islam, 34, 83, 84, 98, 108, 109, 114, 125, 132, 135, 156, 160, 187, 188n, 218, 219.
Ismail, younger son of Subuktigin, 115.
Jaffar, S. M., 26n.
Jalalabad, 35, 107, 109.
Jalandhara (जालन्धर), 4, 71, 115, 116, 229.
Jami-ul-Hikayat, 40, 42, 46.
Jamrud, 142
Jani, 115.
Janki, 96.
Jawn (Jumna or Yamuna), river, 209, 213n.
Jayapala (जयपाल), Jaipal, fifth king of the Sahi dynasty, 2, 3, 6, 71, 80, 89-130 (chapter on Jayapala), 131, 138, 166, 192.
Jayasimha (जयसिंह), king of Kashmir, 58, 79, 187, 134.
Jayasimha (जयसिंह), soldier of Kashmir who fights against Hammira, 187.
Jayavarman (जयवर्मन्), Chandella king, 169n, 204n.
Jehlam, river, 28.
Jeta (जेता), 78, 85, 91, 92.
Jetripala (जेतृपाल), probable restoration of Hutpal, father of Jayapala, 90, 92, 97.
Jhelum, Jhelam, river, 6, 22n, 28, 72, 128, 131n, 134, 154, 174, 179, 186, 207, 216. *Also see* Jehlam.
Jhelum, Jehlam, town, 186, 189.
Jhelum, district, West Punjab, 13n, 16, 115, 144n.
Jhusi, 172.
Jobnath, 22n.
Jobnathnagar, 22n.
Jubbal, 164n.
Jumna, river, 204, 208, 211, 213n, 214, 215.
Jyeshthapala (ज्येष्ठपाल), son of Kumarapala, 226n, 227, 232-234.
Kabul, 5, 6, 9, 12, 14, 17n, 22, 24-26, 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 43-45, 54, 62, 63, 65, 66, 71, 72, 77, 82, 83, 93, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 103, 109, 112, 115, 117, 118, 122, 126n, 128, 235, 237, 240-242, 252.
Kabul, river, 125.
Kabulistan, 87, 102, 159, 182n.
Kachchhapaghata (कच्छपघात), 203.
Kailasa (कैलास), 66-68.
Kalachuri-Chandra (कलचुरिचंद्र), 202n.

Kalá-Kamalávarman (कलकमलवर्मन), Kamalavarman (कमलवर्मन्), Kamaladeva (कमलदेव), Kamara (कमर), Kamalaka (कमलक), Kamalu, Kamaluka (कमलुक), Kamaluka-Toramana (कमलुक-तोरमाण), third king of the Sahi dynasty, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12, 18, 40-55 (section on Kamaluka-Toramana), 56, 86, 239, 240.

Kalanjara (कालंजर), Kalanjar, Kalinjar, 108n, 110, 112, 113, 140n, 155, 157, 169, 203n, 204.

Kalar, town in Attock district, 12-15, 21-22.

Kalasa (कलश), king of Kashmir, 58, 59, 79, 85, 229, 230.

Kalhana (कल्हण), Kashmir chronicler, *passim*.

Kallar, also known as Lalliya (ललिय), first king of the Sahi dynasty, 2, 9-39 (chapter on Lalliya/Kallar), 41, 42, 44, 49, 90, 240, 242. *Also see* Lalliya.

Kalri, site in Attock district, 13, 15.

Kamala-Kesava (कमलाकेशव), temple of Vishnu, 85.

Kamaliya (कमलिय), of Takkavishaya, 174-181, 208n.

Kanauj, 27, 28, 32, 33, 66, 76, 78, 108n, 110-115, 128, 140n, 155, 158, 164n, 170-172, 190, 196, 201-205, 207, 209, 211, 212, 215, 218n, 220n. *Also see* Kanyakubja.

Kandariya, Siva temple at Khajuraho, 199.

Kandarpasimha (कन्दर्पसिंह), son of Tunga, 4, 93, 165, 166.

Kane, P.V., 194n.

Kangra, the old Trigarta (त्रिगर्त), 32n, 135n, 146, 150, 151, 153, 154, 164n, 229.

Kantiraja (कान्तिराज), brother of Didda, 73, 74.

Kanyakubja (कान्यकुब्ज), 201-203. *Also see* Kanauj.

Kanyakubja-narendra (कान्यकुब्ज-नरेन्द्र), 203n.

Kapisa, 5, 77.

Karnal, 28, 35, 163, 216.

Kashmir, *passim*.

Khajuraho (खजुराहो), 66-69, 77, 169, 199, 202-204, 209, 220n.

Khalji, Khilji, 109, 137.

Khamaradaka (खमरदक), 53.

Khamaravayaka (खमरवयक), 22, 42, 53, 240.

Khanid, 115n.

Khasa (खश), 4, 5, 73, 78, 80, 166n.

Khewra, 138.

Khudavayaka (खुदवयक), 18, 22, 42, 53, 54, 235-237, 240, 241.

Khurasan, 46, 115, 120—122, 125, 129, 135, 137, 162, 245.

Khvadava (ख्वदव), 53.

Khvadavayaka (ख्वदवयक), 53.

Kia-pi-shi, 26.

Kielhorn, F., 35, 66, 166n.

Kindi, 108n, 115.
Kira (कीर), 66-68.
Kiraraja (कीरराज), 'king of Kira', 66-69.
Kirtivarman (कीर्तिवर्मन्), Chandella king, 113n, 199, 202.
Kitab-i-Yamini, 103n.
Kitorman, 10.
Ki-ye, Chinese pilgrim, 99.
Kohistan, 25.
Kot Kangra, 71, 146.
Kotta (कोट्ट), used for Loharakotta, 292.
Kramu, 227.
Krishna (कृष्ण) of the *Mahabharata*, 91.
Krishna (कृष्णा), river, contraction for कृष्णगंगा, 191.
Krishna Deva (कृष्ण देव), 199.
Krishna-Ganga (कृष्णगंगा), river, 191.
Kshatriya (क्षत्रिय), 3, 4, 5, 25, 106n, 176, 179, 208, 234, 252.
Kshema (क्षेमा), co-wife of Bimba, 166.
Kshemagupta (क्षेमगुप्त), king of Kashmir, 7, 57, 60, 61, 72, 73, 80-82.
Kshitipala (क्षितिपाल), Pratihara king, 76.
Kshitiraja (क्षितिराज), ruler of Lohara, 74.
Kubha (कुभा), 117.
Kumarapala (कुमारपाल), maternal uncle of Bhikshachara's father, 227, 228, 230-234.
Kumariya (कुमारिय), grandson of Madhu, follower of Bhikshachara, 226n.
Kunu, a tributary of the Chambal, in Morena district (M. P.), 202n.
Kunwar, 164n.
Kunwar Raj, 171.
Kur, used in Muslim sources for Kunwar (कुँवर/कुमार) or Gurjara, 164n.
Kurd, 137.
Kurrum, 117.
Lagaturman, 5, 10, 15, 19, 24, 30, 36, 42, 240.
Lahore of the Punjab, 6, 27, 111, 114-116, 128, 135, 138, 151, 155, 167, 204, 205.
Lahore in Swabi tehsil of Mardan district, NWFP, ancient Salatura (शलातुर), summer capital of Sahis, 26-27.
Lakshmaka (लक्ष्मक), younger brother of Sujji, 175, 178n, 181.
Lakshmana (लक्ष्मण), temple at Khajuraho, 69.
Lakshmidhara (लक्ष्मीधर), a Takka, 225.
Lal, B. B., 194.
Lalitaditya (ललितादित्य), king of Kashmir, 34.
Lalitpur, a subdivision of Jhansi district in U. P. (erroneously entered in this book as a district), 200.
Lal, Kanwar, 69, 199n.
Lalliya (लल्लिय), Lalliya Sahi (लल्लिय शाहि), also known

as Kallar, first king of the Sahi dynasty, 3, 6, 7, 9-39 (chapter on Lalliya/Kallar), 40-50, 90, 192, 215, 218, 242. *Also see* Kallar.
Lamghan, 92, 100, 101, 104, 106, 108, 109, 112, 126n.
Lamghanat, 107, 109.
Langarkot, in Hazara district (not in Attock district as erroneously entered in the text), identified with Nagarkot, 151.
Lavaraja (लवराज), governor (भूमर्ता) of Takkavishaya and father of Kamaliya, 176, 178, 181.
Lawik, 93.
Lidar, river, 81, 83.
Lodi, 100n.
Lohara (लोहर), modern Loharin, 4, 66, 71-81, 186, 233.
Loharakotta (लोहरकोट्ट), 'the Castle of Lohara', 71, 72, 191. Loh-kot of Muslim authors.
Loharin, 72, 186.
Lohavar, 64.
Lohgarh, 93, 102.
Lotharatha (लोठरथ), elder brother of Chitraratha, 180n.
Lothana (लोठन), ruler of Lohara, fourth son of Malla, 181.
Macdowall, David W., 235-242. Correct the surname as MacDowall.
Madanavarman (मदनवर्मन्), Chandella king, 200, 203n.
Madhu (मधु), 226n.
Magadha (मगध), 33, 36.
Mahaban, 196.
Mahendrapala (महेन्द्रपाल), Pratihara king, 27, 28, 31-34.
Mahiman (महिमन्), son of Chhoja (छोज), 81, 88.
Mahipala (महीपाल), Pratihara king, 67, 68, 76, 77, 80.
Mahmud of Ghazni (A. D 971-1030), 105, 115-226, 244, 245, 249, 252. His seventeen expeditions to India (most of which are covered in this book) carried out during A. D. 1000–1027 are as follows : (1) Frontier towns (September 1000), 117-118; (2) Peshawar and Waihind (September 1001-April 1002), 118-125; (3) Bhatiya (October 1004-May/June 1005), 131n; (4) Multan (1006), 132-135; (5) Rebellious Multan Governor Nawasa Shah (1007-1008), 137-139; (6) Battle of Chhachh (near Hazro) and Plunder of Nagarkot (1008-1009), 139-162; (7) Narayana or Narayanapura (1009 end), 162 and note; (8) Multan (1010 end), 163; (9) Thanesar (1011-1012), 163-165; (10) Nandana or Ninduna/Nardin (November 1013-July/August 1014), 163n, 178n, 181-188; (11) Lohkot in Kashmir

(1015-1016), 178n; (12) Mathura, Kanauj and Sharwa (September 1018-January/February 1019), 196-198; (13) Trilochanapala Sahi (Battle of the Rahib in early December 1020 A. D.), Trilochanapala Pratihara (Plunder of Bari) and Vidyadhara Chandella (1020-1021), 206-219 (last two aspects not covered in this book); (14) Lohkot in Kashmir (September/October 1021-March/April 1022), not covered in this book; (15) Gwalior and Kalinjar (1022-1023), not covered in this book; (16) Somnath (18 October 1025-2 April 1026), not covered in this book; (17) Jats (March-June/July 1027), not covered in this book. Motives of Mahmud's Indian invasions (1000-1027), 116-125, 132-135, 137-154, 162-165, 181-188, 196-198, 207-218. Effects of Mahmud's Indian invasions, 224-226.

Mahoba, 113, 199, 202.

Majumdar, R. C., 1, 6, 99n, 100n, 123n, 128n, 129, 136n, 141, 157, 164n.

Mallot, 15.

Malwa, 157.

Mamma (मम्मा), concubine of Kandarpasimha, 166.

Mandi, 72.

Manu (मनु), author, 5.

man-yazid, 121n.

Mardan, 20, 26, 27, 112.

Margala Pass, 183.

Marigala, 64.

Martanda (मार्तण्ड), 82, 84.

Martanda Mahatmya (मार्तण्ड-माहात्म्य), 83.

Masudi, author, 5.

Mathura, 196.

Mau, 200.

McQuilkin, P., 241.

Meerut, 189, 191.

Minhajus Siraj, 121, 122.

Mirand, 121n.

Mishra, K. N., 200n, 202n.

Mitra, S. K., 156n, 158, 169n, 170n, 201n.

Muhammadan, Muslim, *passim.*

Muhammad b. Ali b. Ali, author, 118.

Muhammad bin Mansur, author, 94.

Muharram 8, 392 A. H.= November 27, 1001 A. D., Thursday=Margasirsha *sudi* 9, 1058 V. S., battle of Peshawar, 120.

Mukta-Kesava (मुक्ताकेशव), temple of Vishnu, 85.

Multan, 28, 63, 70, 92, 100, 101, 102, 105n, 131, 132, 133, 135, 138, 139, 155, 163, 165.

Mummuni (मुम्मुनि), brother of Sangata (संगट), 181.

Mungaja (मुंगज), variant for Sankata of Urasa, 79.

Munj, 196.
Munshi, K. M., 30n.
Muslim, Musalman, *passim*.
Nagarahara (नगरहार), in Afghanistan, 22, 35.
Nagarkot (नगरकोट) or Bhimnagar (भीमनगर), 22, 69, 70, 71, 135n, 139, 140, 141, 146n, 149-154, 159.
Nagarkot (नगरकोट), of the Kangra Valley, 9, 32n, 135n, 150.
Nalanda (नालन्दा), 36.
Nanda (नन्दा), wife of King Gopalavarman of Kashmir, 57.
Nanda (नन्दा), used for Vidyadhara, 164n, 170, 202, 205, 209, 214.
Nanda-Kesava (नन्दाकेशव), temple of Vishnu, 85.
Nandana (नन्दन), 6, 16, 22, 115, 125-129, 134, 151, 154, 174, 181, 183-190.
Nandigupta (नन्दिगुप्त), king of Kashmir, 59, 61.
Nanyaura, shown as Nonaura on the Survey of India map, in Hamirpur district, 199.
Nara (नर), of Darvabhisara, ancestor of Simharaja of Lohara, 73.
Narayana (नारायण), a state "in the middle of Hind", 162.
Narayanapura (नारायणपुर), same as Narayana, 162n.
Nardin, variant for Nandana, 127, 163n, 185.
Naru Jaypal, same as Trilochanapala, 171.
Nasr of Multan, father of Abul Fath Daud, 131.
Nasr, commander of Mahmud Ghaznavid, 183.
Natha (नाथ), a cult (सम्प्रदाय), 16, 17.
Nawasa Shah, Sahi prince converted to Islam, 135, 137-139.
Nazim, Muhammad, *passim*.
Nevill, H. R , 210n.
Nijjar, B. S., 188n.
Nilgund, 36.
Nindoona, 93, 127, 128.
Ninduna, 127n, 163n, 167, 183.
Nirahara, 64.
Nizami, K. A., 198n.
Nizamuddin, 108, 109n, 111, 117, 120, 127, 128, 156, 170n, 187, 201, 205n, 206, 209n, 211, 212, 214, 215, 218n.
North-West Frontier Province or Region, 20, 26, 27, 33, 117, 118.
Nrisimha (नृसिंह), 69.
Nuruddin Muhammad Ufi, 40, 42, 46. Ufi is also written as Awfi.
Obrzycko, 49.
Ohind, same as Udabhanda, 1, 2, 17, 22, 54.
Orissa, 192n.
Oxus, 136.
Padama (पद्म), 18, 42, 239.

Padmaka (पद्मक), 227, 230, 231, 233 234.
Paharpur, 33.
Paja (पाज) or Pajaka (पाजक), Sahi refugee prince, 227, 230.
Pakama (पकम), 239.
Pakhli, 79
Pakistan, West, 13n, 31n.
Pala (पाल), 90, 159.
Pandava (पाण्डव), 70, 91, 150.
Pandit, R. S., 39, 65, 78, 99n, 159, 172.
Panini (पाणिनि), 27.
Panjab, 188n. *Also see* Punjab.
Panjshir, in Afghanistan, 25.
Parasurama (परशुराम), 3.
Parihasa-Kesava (परिहासकेशव), temple of Vishnu, 85.
Parmu, R K., 75.
Parnotsa (पर्णोत्स), mod. Punch, 4, 72, 166n, 186.
Parujaypal, same as Trilochnapala, 171, 212, 218n.
Parvagupta (पर्वगुप्त), king of Kashmir, father-in-law of Didda, 60, 80, 81, 82.
Patala (पाटल), son of Bhubhata (भूमट), 81.
Patna district, 35.
Pehoa, 28, 35.
Persian, 20, 21, 46, 121, 126, 171, 185.
Peshawar, 9, 16, 20, 26, 109n, 116-120, 122, 124, 133-136, 142, 143, 146, 147, 155.
Phalguna (फल्गुन), minister of Kashmir, 81n, 87.
Phullapura (फुल्लपुर), uncertain locality, must be looked for in the direction of Lohara, 72.
Piri, Piritigin, 101, 102.
Pir Pantsal Range, 72, 186.
Pittharaja (पित्थराज), Sahi refugee prince, 227, 230.
Poland, 49.
Posen, 49.
Prabhakaradeva (प्रभाकरदेव), minister of Kashmir, 7, 45, 48, 52.
Prabhasa (प्रभास), Prime Minister of Dhanga and father of Sivanaga, Vidyadhara's minister, 169.
Prajji (प्रज्जि), a Saindhava, 174, 175, 177, 179-181, 225.
Pratihara (प्रतीहार), 33, 76, 77, 111n, 158, 160n, 171, 196, 197n, 203, 206, 207, 218n, 220n.
Prayaga (प्रयाग), 169.
Prithvipala (पृथ्वीपाल), Kamaliya's nephew, a Takka (टक्क), 176, 177, 180n, 181.
Prunts, 186.
Prunts Tohi (Taushi), 72.
Punch, ancient Parnotsa, 72.
Punjab, 1, 13n, 17n, 21, 27-33, 33, 35, 49, 77, 87, 95, 110, 114, 115, 123n, 129, 133, 134, 138, 140, 146, 150, 151, 153, 155, 164n, 171, 174, 175, 177, 186-190, 204, 206-208, 215 226 235; Central, 174, 178, 208, 225; East, 6; Northern,

125n; West, 13n, 16, 28, 31n, 45, 72.
Pur-Jaipal, same as Trilochanapala, 214.
Purshaur, 119.
Purshavar, 126n.
Purshur, 116.
Puru-Jaipal, same as Trilochanapala, 138, 171.
Purujaypal, same as Trilochanapala, 209.
Purushapura (पुरुषपुर), 22, 116.
Purushavar, 9.
Pushkalavati (पुष्कलावती), 22.
Qanauj, 119n.
Qandahar, 97.
Quraish, tribe, 101.
Raghava, Rangeya, 17n.
Raghuvamsa (रघुवंश), 58.
Rahib, 171, 189, 190, 195, 209-219.
Rahut, 115, 172, 210, 211. Is it the Arabic contraction of *Ramah-uttarangah* (रामः उत्तरंगः) ? The name Ganga (गंगा) is occasionally applied to several other rivers considered sacred in India; thus the proper name of the river is Rama (राम) only. *Uttaranga* (उत्तरंग) (adjective) means 'ruffled or washed by waves, inundated, tremulous, with surging waves.'
Rahv, 210n.
Rajabijin (राजबीजिन्), 177, 185, 226n, 232.
Rajaputra (राजपुत्र), 182, 226n, 232.
Rajatarangini (राजतरंगिणी), *passim*.
Rajaypal, 170.
Rajbal, used for Rajyapala of Kanauj, 202.
Rajput, 3, 5, 17, 25, 106, 160, 161, 199, 217.
Rajyapala (राज्यपाल), 164n, 170, 171, 196, 197, 202, 204-207.
Raktika (रक्तिक), son of Kumarapala, 226n, 227, 232-234.
Ram, 164.
Ramabhadra (राममद्र), 76.
Ramachandra (रामचन्द्र), temple at Khajuraho, 69
Rama-Ganga (रामगंगा), river, 5, 6, 189, 191, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 215-218.
Ranigat, 86.
Rashid, K. A., 26, 143n, 144n, 146-152, 154, 169n.
Rashtrakuta (राष्ट्रकूट), 36, 80.
Raverty, 120.
Ravi (रावी), river of the Punjab, 34.
Rawalpindi, 13n, 80, 144, 235.
Ray, H. C., *passim*.
Ray Jayapala, 121.
Rauzatus Safa, 163n.
Reinaud, 71.
Reynold, 142n.
Rilhana (रिल्हण), minister of Kashmir, 176, 180n.
Rodgers, 53.
Rudrapala (रुद्रपाल), Sahi refugee prince, 4, 227, 229, 230.

Ruhut, river, 172, 189, 212.
Sabalgarh, 191.
Sabli, 96, 196.
Sachau, E. C., 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10n, 24, 44, 61, 65, 89n, 90, 93, 136n, 139n, 159, 166n, 168n, 184n, 212, 219n, 222n.
Sadrun, 72
Saffarid, 25, 40.
Sagawand Pass, 43.
Sahi (शाहि in राजतरंगिणी, साहि in inscriptions, शाहिय in Alberuni), *passim*.
Sahidesa (शाहिदेश), 32, 39.
Sahillavarman (साहिल्लवर्मन्), 100.
Sahni, D. R., 3, 86.
Sahri-Bahlol, in NWFP, 20n, 49.
Saindhava (सैन्धव), 174, 175, 177, 179, 180, 181, 183, 185, 225.
Saindhavaka (सैन्धवक), 175n, 225.
Sajjala (सज्जल), son of Sujji, 181.
Saka (शक), 23, 24, 229; era, 34, 38.
Sakala (शाकल), 34.
Sakawand, 42.
Saktamatha (शाक्तमठ), 84.
Saktisena (शक्तिसेन), 81.
Salatura (शलातुर), birthplace of Panini and summer capital of Sahis, 27, 126.
Salha (सल्ह), son of King Harsha, 232n.
Salha (सल्ह), *see* Salhana.
Salhana (सल्हण) : Salha (सल्ह), king of Kashmir, third son of Malla, 191.
Salt Range, 6, 13, 15, 16, 77, 126, 127, 154n, 174, 175n, 188n, 225.
Samand (सामन्द), Arabic version of Samanta, 2, 11, 18, 21, 44, 46,49, 91.
Samanta (सामन्त), Samantadeva (सामन्तदेव), second king of the Sahi dynasty, 11, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 40-52 (section on Samanta), 235-242.
Sambhar, 112.
Sanbar, 210.
Sandanpal, 115n.
Sandpal, 115n.
Sangata, (संगट), variant for Sankata of Urasa, 79.
Sangata (संगट), brother of Mummuni, cousin of Sujji, 181.
Sangika (संगिक), same as Sangiya.
Sangiya (संगिय), brother of Kamaliya, a Takka, 175, 177, 180n, 181.
Sangrama (संग्राम), Damara chief, 187.
Sangramaraja (संग्रामराज), king of Kashmir, 4, 8, 61, 73, 74, 75, 113, 158, 182, 184.
Sankaracharya (शंकराचार्य), 17.
Sankaravarman (शंकरवर्मन्), king of Kashmir, 7, 11, 16, 24, 27n, 28, 30, 31, 32n, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 44-49, 52, 81n, 87, 223.

Sankata (संकट), lord of Urasa, correct reading for मुंगज and संगट, 79.
Sanskrit, 1-4, 8, 12n, 18, 20, 21, 56, 85, 86, 91, 167, 168, 182, 202, 214n.
Sarada (शारदा), script, 85, 86.
Saradbhasin (शरद्भाषिन्) : Saradiya (शरदिय), brother of Sangata, 181.
Sarasuti, 115n.
Sarbal, 191, 210.
Sarkar, Jadunath, 129, 198, 216, 217.
Sarugh, 187.
Sarupa-Bharati (*Dr. Lakshman Sarup Memorial Volume*), 224n.
Sarvajnasanti (सर्वज्ञशान्ति), 36.
Satlej, 28.
Saudotra (शौडोत्र), wrong reading for गौडोड्र, 192n.
Savarnika (सावर्णिकग्राम), village in Lohara, 72.
Sazin, 32n.
Sevakapala (सेवकपाल), alternative reading for Sukhapala, 138.
Seybold, Ch., 11.
Shaban 14 (date furnished by Ibn al Asir for Mahmud's overtaking Parujaypal on the bank of a deep river east of the Ganges) in A. H. 410, 411 and 412 fell on December 15, 1019 (Tuesday) =Pausha *badi* 1, 1076 V. S., December 3, 1020 (Saturday) =Margasisrsha *sudi* 15 (*Purnima*), 1077 V. S. and November 23, 1021 A. D. (Thursday)=Pausha *badi* 1, 1078 V. S. respectively, 207, 209, 212.
Shafi, Iqbal M , 210n, 214n.
Shah Muhammad Wali, village in Attock district, 12-13.
Shahpur, 14, 235.
Sharma, S. R., 103n.
Sharwa, in Meerut district. 93, 164n, 189, 191, 195, 197, 198.
She-kie-lo, 34.
Shortt, H. de S , 51.
Shrikot in Hazara district (wrongly indicated as in Attock district in this book), 151.
Sialkot, 34.
Siddha-Bharati, 126n.
Sihun, 116.
Sijistan, 25.
Simhapura (सिंहपुर), 77.
Simharaja (सिंहराज), king of Lohara, 4, 60, 71-76, 80, 81.
Simharajamatha (सिंहराजमठ), at Srinagar, 76.
Simharajasvamin (सिंहराजस्वामिन्), temple of Vishnu at Lohara, 76.
Sindhu, 116, 123, 142n, 154, 174, 175n.
Singh, Nagendra, 160.
Sircar, D. C., 49n, 51n, 126n.
Sirsa, 28.
Sirsawa, 196.

Sirur, 36.
Sishyahita (शिष्यहित), 166n.
Sishyahitavritti (शिष्यहितावृत्ति), 166.
Siva (शिव), 14, 20n, 84, 91, 220.
Sivanaga (शिवनाग), 169, 200.
Siwalik, 189, 190.
Skandhavari (स्कन्धावारी), 197n.
Smail, R. C., 198n.
Smith, V. A., 19, 21, 22, 50n, 53, 56, 57n, 92n, 108n, 201n, 205n, 235n, 242.
Soan, river, 12.
Sodra, 134, 135.
Somnath, 119, 151.
Spalapati (स्पलपति), Spalapati-deva (स्पलपतिदेव), 18-24, 34, 35, 38, 49, 235-242
Srinagar, 31, 32, 48, 52, 72, 76, 81n, 95, 229
Srivardhana (श्रीवर्धन), soldier of Kashmir who fights against Hammira, 187.
Subuktigin of Ghazni, 92-95, 100-118, 131, 136, 244.
Sugandha (सुगन्धा), queen of Sankaravarman, 30, 48.
Sugata (सुगत), 36.
Sujji (सुज्जि), younger brother of Prajji, Saindhava, 174n, 175, 179-181, 225.
Sukhapala (सुखपाल), 94, 106n, 135, 137-139.
Sulaiman, 76.
Sumanas (सुमनस्), younger brother of Rilhana, 180.
Suran, 72.
Suryamati (सूर्यमती), daughter of Induchandra, queen of Ananta, 4, 229
Sussala (सुस्सल), king of Kashmir, second son of Malla, 175, 176, 177, 208n, 231, 233, 234.
Sultej, 123n, 131n, 133, 164, 190, 208; Basin, 193n. *Also see* Satlej.
Svamiraja (स्वामिराज), father of Queen Sugandha, 30.
Svetika (श्वेतिक), son of Sujji's elder brother, 181.
Swabi, 26.
Swat, 89, 98, 99, 117, 118, 124.
Syalapati (स्यलपति), 20.
Tabaqat-i-Akbari, 103n, 111, 120, 121.
Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, 120n, 121n, 122n.
Tahqiq ma lil-Hind, 56.
Takeshar, 64.
Takishar, 115.
Takka (टक्क), 177, 180, 181, 225, 226.
Takka-desa (टक्कदेश), 28, 31-34, 178, 225, 226.
Takkavishaya (टक्कविषय), 174, 176, 179, 180, 207, 208, 225.
Takshasila (तक्षशिला), 74.
Talbot, 127.
Tarbela in Hazara district (wrongly shown as in Attock district in this book), 147n, 151, 154.

Tarikh-i-Firishta, 111.
Tarikh-i-Guzida, 124.
Tarikh-i-Yamini, 96.
Tarikhul-Hind, 128.
Tarikhul-Kamil, 201.
Tarojanapala (तरोजनपाल), same as Trilochanapala, 2, 90, 139, 168, 219.
Taru Jaypala, same as Trilochanapala, 171, 205, 214.
Taushi (तौषी), river, 8, 72, 94, 181, 186, 187, 189, 192, 194, 216, 220n.
Thakkana (थक्कन), a Sahi ruler, 3, 7, 88, 94-97.
Thanesar, 151, 163, 164n, 165.
Thaneswar, 163n.
Thomas, E., 1, 25n, 49n, 52n.
Thompson, F. C., 241.
Tibet, 9, 10, 68.
Tibetan, 62, 63, 68.
Tila, in Jhelum district, 16.
Tohi, river of Prunts, old Taushi, 72, 186, 220n.
Tokharian, 242.
Toramana (तोरमाण), 5, 7, 40-42, 48, 49, 52.
Tornberg, 170n.
Tosamaidan Pass, route leading to Loharin, 72, 186.
Transoxiana, Transoxania, 46, 119.
Tribhuvana (त्रिभुवन), king of Kashmir, 59, 61.
Trigarta (त्रिगर्त), 32.
Trilochan (त्रिलोचन), 195.
Trilochanapala (त्रिलोचनपाल), seventh king of the Sahi dynasty, 3-8, 90, 93, 94, 113, 115, 138-141, 158, 163n, 164n, 165, 167n, 168-220 (chapter on Trilochanapala), 221, 226-229.
Tripathi, R. S., 28, 31n, 33, 76, 77.
Triphar, 229.
Tripuresvara (त्रिपुरेश्वर), 223, 229.
Tseh-kia, 31, 34.
Tujaipal, same as Trilochanapala, 205.
Tukharistan, on the Oxus, 97.
Tunga (तुंग), prime minister and commander-in-chief of Kashmir, 4, 93, 165, 166, 182, 183, 186, 187, 217.
Turk, 9, 35, 63, 100, 103-105, 107, 109, 136, 137, 139, 157, 174, 176, 181, 211, 216, 226.
Turki (तुर्की), 6, 19, 22, 30, 62.
Turkish, 42, 73, 106, 159, 182, 194, 198, 199, 208, 229n.
Turki Shahiya, 5, 6, 9, 12, 19, 39, 44, 54, 241.
Turkoman, 135, 137.
Turushka (तुरुष्क), 8, 16, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 39, 44, 78, 100, 113, 173, 178n, 179, 182, 183, 186, 187, 215.
Turushkavishaya (तुरुष्कविषय), 176.
Tushara (तुषार), 186.
Uchchala (उच्चल), king of Kashmir, eldest son of Malla, 231.

Udabhanda (उद्भाण्ड), capital of the Sahis, also called Udabhandapura, 6, 11n, 16, 27, 39, 53, 65, 72, 73, 77, 95, 100, 118, 122, 124, 134, 224n, 232n. *Also see below.*

Udabhandapura (उद्भाण्डपुर), capital of the Sahis, also called Udabhanda, 2, 6-8, 11, 16, 17, 20, 22, 26, 27, 39, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48, 52, 69, 70, 75, 94, 96, 98, 112, 125, 126, 128, 129, 190, 192. *Also see above.*

Udaira, 115.

Udayaraja (उदयराज), brother of Didda, 73, 74.

Udra (उड्र), 192n.

Ugrabhuti (उग्रभूति), teacher of Anandapala, 166, 167, 182.

Ujjain, 140n, 155, 157.

Ukba Ghuzak, mountain, 104.

Una, 31n.

Und, site of Udabhanda : Waihand, 26, 27, 129.

Unmattavanti (उन्मत्तावन्ति), king of Kashmir, 81.

Unsuri, poet, 70, 120-122, 133, 135, 150n.

Upper Swat, 118, 124.

Urasa (उरशा), now Hazara district, 32n, 33, 47, 49, 77, 78, 79.

Utbi, author, 2, 69, 70, 96, 104n, 105n, 106, 107n, 108n, 109n, 111, 116, 119-124, 127-130, 133n, 138, 140-142, 147-150, 152, 153, 156, 159, 162, 163n, 164n, 168, 170n, 182-185, 188n, 189, 195n, 197n, 198n, 205-209, 211, 212n, 214n, 216, 221.

Utkarsha (उत्कर्ष), second son of Kalasa, king of Kashmir, 58, 73.

Utpala (उत्पल), a dynasty of kings in Kashmir, 28, 29, 44.

Uttar Pradesh, 235; U. P., Northern, 226.

Vaidya, C. V., 1, 25n, 26n, 65, 71, 87n, 90n, 100n, 105n, 106, 107, 109n, 110n, 112n, 113, 118, 119, 121, 123-125, 127n, 128, 130n, 131n, 133-135, 140-142, 144-146, 148n, 155n, 157-160, 187n.

Vaihand, 142n.

Vaijayanti (वैजयन्ती), 125; *Paryayabhaga* (पर्यायभाग), a section of this dictionary, 126.

Vaikuntha (वैकुण्ठ), synonym for Vishnu, 66, 67, 68, 70, 76, 77, 78.

Vairin (वैरिन्), interpreted by ourselves as the proper name of a king, 79. For several other kings bearing this name see *DHNI.*

Vaishnava (वैष्णव), 69, 70, 85n, 91.

Vaishnavism, 67.

Vajirasthana (वजीरस्थान), used for Waziristan, 98, 118.

Vakama (वकम), 239.
Vakka (वक्क), Vakkadeva (वक्कदेव), 18-21, 235, 237, 239, 241.
Vallapura (वल्लापुर), 79n.
Vanga (वंग), 36.
Varaha (वराह), 69.
Varanasi (वाराणसी), 225, 226.
Varman (वर्मन्), 3.
Vasantalekha (वसन्तलेखा), Sahi princess married to King Harsha of Kashmir, 5, 227, 230, 232, 234.
Vasava (वासव), synonym for Indra, 200.
Vats, M. S., 224n.
Venka (वेंक), Venkadeva (वेंकदेव), 13, 15, 21, 22.
Verma, Sheo Ratan Lal, 165n.
Vibhavamati (विभवमती), wife of prince Bhoja, 79, 234.
Vibhramarka (विभ्रमार्क), Damara soldier of Kashmir who fights against Hammira, 117.
Vidyadhara (विद्याधर), Chandella king, 160n, 164n, 169, 170, 199-207, 209, 218, 219.
Vigraharaja (विग्रहराज), nephew of Didda, son of the eldest son of Simharaja, 74, 75.
Vijayakshetra (विजयक्षेत्र), site around Vijayesvara : Vijabror, 191.
Vijayapala (विजयपाल), Chandella king, 90.
Vijayesvara (विजयेश्वर) : Vijayesa (विजयेश), Tirtha and temple of Siva, now Vijabror (Skt. Vijayabhattaraka विजयभट्टारक), 76.
Vikrama era, 16.
Vikramankadevacharita (विक्रमांकदेवचरित), 229.
Vikramasimha Kachchhapaghata (विक्रमसिंह कच्छपघात), 229.
Vinayakapala (विनायकपाल), Pratihara king, 76.
Vindhya (विन्ध्य), 16, 25, 224.
Viradeva (वीरदेव), 35, 36.
Viradeva *prasasti* (वीरदेव प्रशस्ति), 36.
Viran, 32n.
Viranaka (वीरानक), 32, 47.
Virimda (विरिंद), a pet name of Vidyadhara, 199.
Vishnu (विष्णु), 7, 14, 16, 66, 67, 69, 84, 85, 91, 92.
Vishnu Simhasvamin (विष्णु सिंहस्वामिन्), temple of Vishnu at Lohara, 76.
Vishnusahasranamastotra (विष्णुसहस्रनामस्तोत्र), 16n, 66, 85, 92n.
Vishva Bandhu, 5n, 39, 41, 91n, 195n.
Visvanatha (विश्वनाथ), temple at Khajuraho, 169n.
Vitasta (वितस्ता), river, 31n, 32n, 33, 186.
Vratya (व्रात्य), 5.
Vulliya (वुल्लिय), a Takka, 225.
Wabal-bin-Abdal, 141.
Waddington, H., 194.
Waihind, Waihand, 2, 65, 105n

118, 119, 122-126, 128, 134, 139, 142, 143, 145, 147n, 150n.
Wamund, 142n.
Wazirabad, on the left bank of the Chenab, 135.
Waziristan, 98, 99, 117, 118, 124.
Xoadeo, 54.
Xvatavaya, 54.
Yasovarman (यशोवर्मन्), Chandella king, 66-68, 90.
Zabul, 25.
Zabulistan, 43, 44, 99, 102.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

CORRECTIONS

	For	*read*
p. 16, l. 16	मण्डलम	मण्डलम्
p. 18, l. 23	bocks	books
p. 26, ll. 14-15	opposite to	opposite
p. 81, l. 28	State. Simharaja	State, Simharaja
p. 82, l. 5 in fn.	195	198
p. 91, l. 11	after the imitation of	in imitation of
p. 129, l. 9 in fn.	*Mohmud*	*Mahmud*
p. 131, l. 5 in fn.	March-June	May-June
p. 163, l. 4 in fn.	Nandin	Nardin
p. 176, l. 5 in fn.	Probably in the military department.	In the military department.
p. 180, l. 3 in fn.	VIII. 1091	VIII. 1093
p. 215, l. 2	(A. D. 1019)	(A. D. 1021)

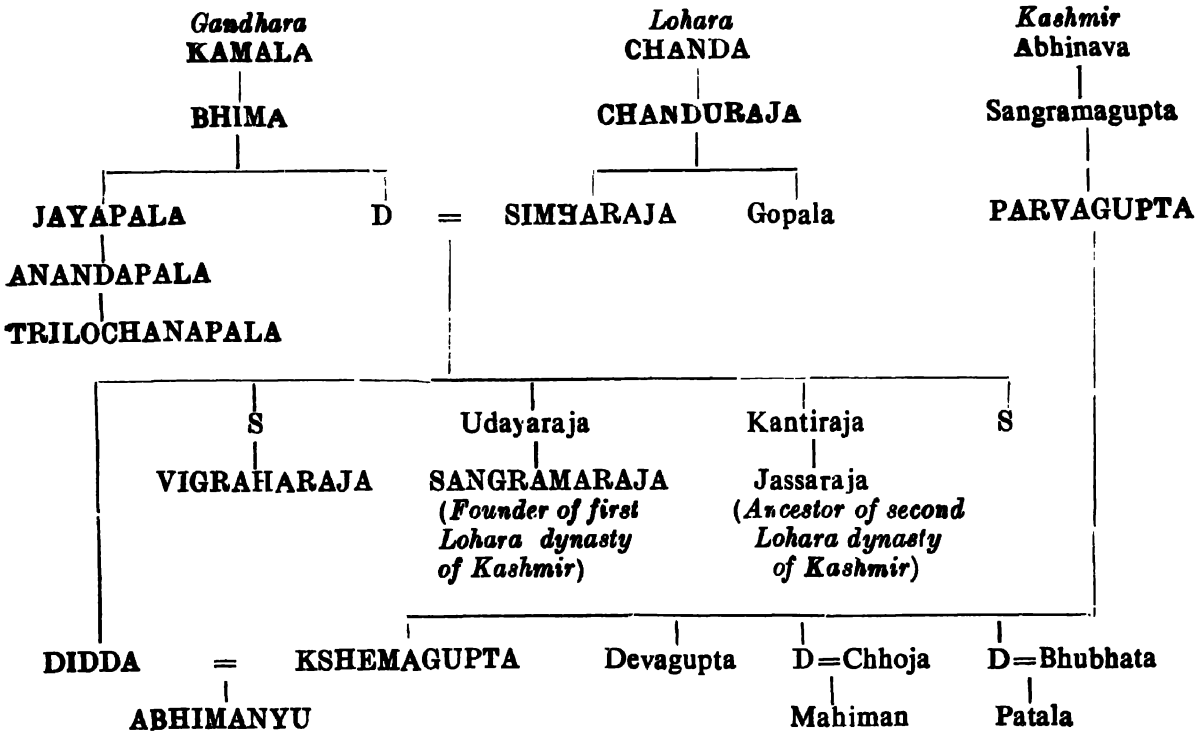
Some mistakes have been corrected in the Index.

ADDITIONS

1. Inter-relation among the dynasties of Gandhara, Lohara and Kashmir

(Add on p. 82 after line 5 in a fresh paragraph)

The Sahis of Kabul-Gandhara were thus connected by means of matrimonial alliances with the Khasas of Lohara, regarded as Kshatriyas (VII. 1655), who later ruled over Kashmir from A. D. 1003 to 1171, and the Parvaguptis of Kashmir (A. D. 949-1003) as will be apparent from the following table (for matter see 57-61, 71-76, 80-82 of the book). Note that Simharaja's wife was the eldest issue of Bhima and Kshemagupta's of Simharaja. Bhima's daughter's place indication here is on account of convenience only.


Gandhara
KAMALA
BHIMA
JAYAPALA
D
ANANDAPALA
TRILOCHANAPALA
Lohara
CHANDA
CHANDURAJA
SIMHARAJA
Gopala
Kashmir
Abhinava
Sangramagupta
PARVAGUPTA
=
S
VIGRAHARAJA
Udayaraja
SANGRAMARAJA
(Founder of first Lohara dynasty of Kashmir)
Kantiraja
Jassaraja
(Ancestor of second Lohara dynasty of Kashmir)
S
DIDDA
=
ABHIMANYU
KSHEMAGUPTA
Devagupta
D=Chhoja
Mahiman
D=Bhubhata
Patala

2. Employment of Punjabis in Kashmir Military Service

(Add on p. 176, fn. 4 at the end in continuation)

Also, they were Kshatriyas and led by *rajabijins*. Made perfectly clear by the word *yuddhaikavrittibhih* (युद्धैकवृत्तिभिः, VIII. 3345) ('by those whose only occupation was war') used while referring to Sangiya and three other persons in course of narrating their good deeds (VIII. 3346-3360). These persons included a *kampanapati* (कम्पनापति, VIII. 3352) ('commander-in-chief of the army') and a *sandhivigrahika* (सान्धिविग्रहिक, VIII. 3354) ('minister of peace and war'), offices evidently connected with war.

3. Date of the Battle of the Taushi

(Add on p. 182, fn. 2 at the end in continuation)

A date later than this (1013-14) would give Tunga ((*c.* 950-1015) an unduly long life. Also, there are indications in the Kashmir chronicle itself that the battle of the Taushi took place in the earlier part of the reign of Trilochanapala (1013-1021) who shifted to Hastika afterwards and did not allow even the victorious Amir to breathe freely because of his superhuman prowess, great energy and continued resistance (VII. 64-65).

4. Vidyadhara's Army

(Add on p. 201 after line 9 in a fresh paragraph)

Farrukhi, f. 17a, says that he had 133,000 foot, 36000 horse, and 900 elephants (Nazim, p. 112, fn. 1).

Some additions may be found in the Bibliography and the Index as well.